Againſt

Diſloyalty,

FOWER

SERMONS

PREACH'D IN THE TIMES
Of the Late Troubles.

By *BARTEN HOLYDAY* D. D.
Arch-deacon of *Oxford*, and Chaplain
to His late Majeſty *CHARLES*
the Firſt, *of Bleſſed Memory.*

OXFORD,
Printed by W. H. for Sam. Pocock.
1661.

TO

The Sacred MAJESTY of

CHARLES the Second

of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith; of Sufferings, Innocence and Deliverance the Rare Example; and for all Princely Vertues above Envy and Imitation.

ROYALL SIR;

DID not *Reaſon teach*, that *the Foot is Inſtrumentall to the Head*, I *ſhould have Judg'd it not Duty but Intruſion, to preſent my Service, though moſt Humble, unto Majeſty. But at preſent ſeeing* Zeale *a Miſtaking Peace-breaker,*

I thought it as Neceſſary, as Seaſonable, to ſet forth the nature of Loyalty and Rebellion; the one from the Gentleneſſe of Nature and the Bleſſing of Unity; the other from the Arts of Darkneſſe and Subtilty. As Remedies theſe were Imployd in the Late Times, and may now be made more uſefull, by being made more Publique. What Speech can be too Juſt, what Diligence too much in the defence of our Supreme Father and Country? Was not ſuch the Practice of the Greeke *Oratour againſt the Inſidiating* Macedonian? *Was not ſuch the Heat of the* Roman *Oratour againſt the Inſolence of* Marc Antony? *Witneſſe their Immortall* Philippiques, *the Defence and Evidence of their Loyalty; patterns even to the Chriſtian, though of a Higher Inſtitution? And a Bleſſing, a bleſſing of Peace it were, if theſe Endeavours for the Amendment of theſe Times, might prove Chriſtian* Philippiques; *and, as a wiſe Glaſſe reflect to ſome their deformities; or as the ſight of a* Lacedemonian *ſervant defil'd with Wine, which preſerv'd the Children from the Defilement. And*

for

for ſuch as had rather be the Sonnes of Wiſdome, then of Belial, *they may purify their Paſſions by their Judgement, if they will lay aſide Perſwaſions taken up in Ignorance, and not Bluſh to be Amended. 'Twas the remarkable cenſure, upon Obſtinate Ignorance, of that Great Reporter of our* Engliſh *Caſes,*

* *L. Coke. lib. 5. in* Caudries *caſe.*

* **Miſerable is his caſe and worthy of Pitty, that has been Perſwaded before he was Inſtructed, and now will refuſe to be Inſtructed, becauſe hee will not be Perſwaded.** *Has it not been the Outcrie of late Zelots, The preſent Goverment muſt be Obeyd? And is not now their Out-crie, their Conviction? Doe they Obey, what they Profeſſe ſhould be Obeyd? Or, will they make the Royall mercy, by the Increaſe of it, and their Abuſe of it, the Increaſe of their Guilt? When they ſhall ſee, what a Prince's Right may Require, and what his Gentleneſſe is ready to mitigate, in the Ceremonies practiſed even in pureſt Times of the Church (without which Ceremonies the Worſhip it ſelfe might ſoon faile,*

as the fruit without the coate, though but a paring) ſhall they not acknowledge any remiſſion Favour? when the Bounty of our Fore-fathers endowd the Church with wealth and Honour, ſhall any be ſo unadviſed, as to Reject the Piety and Bounty? ſhall any be more dangerous and vaine, then the Old Roman *People, that once fell off from their Nobility, for not ſharing with them in ſome Honours in that Commonwealth? And ſhall they here in a Kingdome be Offer'd & Deſpiſ'd? Would they have us believe, they are ſo farre from Pride and Avarice? They muſt prove it by better teſtimony, then their Pretence or Actions yet have done. When God commanded his people under the Law to repaire on the Sabbath to his Publique Worſhip, or be cut off from his People, ſhall any under the Goſpell dare a Separation, and be Innocent? Or, think the* Jew *had more reaſon to ſerve God, then the Chriſtian? Or, ſhall wee under the Liberty and Light of the Goſpell live in a voluntary obſcurity, as the Old Chriſtians in a Neceſſary Secrecy, under the Perſecuting Heathen? ſhall any think they Imitate our*

our Saviour, that Pretend Truth, but ſeek Corners; after the Mode of Ignorance or Deceit? Or ſhall any put out the Sunne, and Light up a Candle? Or, be lead into the way of an Ignis Fatuus? *Or, ſhall any believe the Tranſlation of Scripture, & not the Tranſlator? The Prophet ſaid, The lips of the Prieſt ſhall preſerve knowledge: and ſhall every one now have an Intereſt in the Office? May we not ſee the* Turkiſh Socinian *invading Chriſtianity, in the great Doctrines of the Glorious Trinity, of the Grace and Godhead of Chriſt our Redeemer, of the Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt our Comforter, of the bleſſed Sacraments, the Seals of our Salvation, briefly, of all Goverment and ſafety amongſt men? And is it not then Wiſdome and Holineſſe for Princes with* Speed and Zeale *to reforme ſuch Reformers? When the Dove was ſent forth of the Arke, ſhee did returne, till the Earth was in part purified: when the Raven went forth, he returnd but rather Towards the Arke then into it. The Dove was a clean bird; ſhee found no reſt in the Flood: the Raven lighted on the outſide of the Arke, and on Car-*

caſſes

caſſes floating in the waters, and was content to ſtay and feed on the carrion. Oh, that all, who have fled from the Arke of the Church, would with the Dove, in a flood of Hereſies, returne and be taken-in to the Reſt, to the Safety to the Joy, to the Miraculous Change, and Juſt Thankefulneſſe, under your Majeſties Wiſdome and Mercy. Would they but ſee the late Bleſſed Parliament, the Parliament of Peace, purſuing Peace: Would they but ſee the Generall Concord of Your People, the Glory of Your Vertues; then ſhould there not be found in the ſame breaſt a heart and a heart. But not to make Duty a Treſpaſſe, by too Long an Acceſſe, with my Prayers for ſuch mens Change, and for Your Majeſties Unchangeable Goodneſſe and Proſperity, I ſhall ever reſt

Moſt Gracious Soveraigne,

Your Majeſties Old and
Faithfull Subject,

BARTEN HOLYDAY.

Of Obedience,

OR

The Royall Plea.

A SERMON

Preached at *White-hall*, March 22, 1639. before King CHARLES the FIRST,

By *BARTEN HOLYDAY* Archdeacon of *Oxford*, and one of His *Majesties Chaplaines.*

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EXOD. 20. 12.

Honour thy Father.

AS There is honour due from the creature to the Creator, ſo is there likewiſe from the Child to the Parent: and ſeeing that Parents are God's deputies, we may ſay, that the firſt duty is the cauſe of the ſecond. As then the Child owes his being unto God abſolutely, ſo ſecondly to his Father; and as a true glaſſe reflects the face which it receives: ſo the Parent towards God, ſo the Sonne towards the Father, is never deſtitute whiles not deprav'd, of gratitude, a reflective goodneſſe. Nor is this true only of the naturall Parent, but alſo of the Civill, the Magiſtrate; and chiefly then of the chiefe Magiſtrate, the Prince: a King not only being like a Parent, but the firſt King being a father; nay, therefore a King, becauſe a Father. A lower expoſition of which truth, though it were a truth, yet were it but a truth in part, and but an inferiour truth. To view it then according to the propertie, that is, the elevation of this place, we muſt underſtand and confeſſe a King to be a Father; a Subject to be a Sonne, and therefore Honour to be by Nature moſt due from the naturall Subject to the naturall King.

All Dominion of Man over Man is from God, and the firſt of all was delivered by Generation. Thus *Adam* had, by the leaſure of Birth, a poſterity of *Subjects*; and as in Paradiſe, though he was debarr'd one tree, he was allow'd all the reſt: ſo afterwards, though paradiſe was not admitted him for his Court, he was allow'd all the world beſides. Then was a Family a Kingdome, and Elderſhip Royalty, except where God for ſinne prevented the ordinary ſucceſſion, as in the ſpeciall caſe of *Cain*; who happily might have been *Abels* King, had he not been his murderer. He kill'd his *Subject* in reverſion, ſtaining himſelfe not only with his Brothers bloud, but alſo with indiſcretion; and probably did not ſurvive his Father, who liv'd above nine hundred years. The next derivation of Dominion, if not in Time, yet in congruity, was by choice. Royalty by Birth was the ſweeteſt way of Majeſty: a King and a Father compounded into one, being of a temper like unto God, Juſtice and Mercy. But a King by choyce, even the firſt, though by divine choyce, was turn'd into a puniſhment. Indeed the people choſe the King, but God the Man. They would no longer be content with the inviſible Monarchy of God and

and God diſmis'd them to the palpable dominion of *Saul*. And though Gods mercy made the next choyce, in *David*, a bleſſing: yet by a greater bleſſing, becauſe a ſurer, he left not Soveraignty to the perilous art of Election, but to the ſafer Innocency of Birth. The laſt way, that is the moſt remote from purer nature, in deriving Royalty, is by force, a foraigne force raiſed by God's judgement, as in the *Aſſyrian* againſt *Iſrael*, which whiles it chaſtiſes the perſons and deſtroys their vices, comes like a Father, though with a rod of Iron. Terrour there ſometimes is, rather then ruine; and whiles not properly ruine, but correction, the mercy that proclaimes a Father, claimes likewiſe the obedience due to a Father. Behold with diligence and content the juſtice of this debt; behold the ſpeciall moments of Fatherhood in Soveraignty: which though a dazling eye may miſtake to be glory and pleaſure, a more fixt diſcernes to be Care and Danger. Royalty is a duty Towards man, though not To him; being a duty only to God, who alone can command Kings to command: but unto man 'tis only a bleſſing flowing from that duty. Would you ſee the parts of this bleſſing, behold the partakers of it; behold all

that faithfully enjoy ſubjection. Owe yee your food to the taske of the Husbandman, and owe yee not Him to the royall providence? which as truly orders Him, as Hee his Acres? whiles it neither permitts him to neglect them, nor diminiſh them? Does the Merchant more provide for you the ſofteſt rayment, ſuch as they weare in Kings houſes, then his Soveraigne provides for him *Safety* and Imployment? What were the Indies without a Court? The Merchant indeed is imployd There; but Here the Merchandiſe. The Phyſitian cannot preſerve the Body, if hee be not preſerv'd; The Politique Head is the Soveraigne Phyſitian of the Body Naturall. What were the Lawyer, nay the Law, without the Lawmaker? And ſurely Land of Inheritance might without an Earth-qvake be reckon'd amongſt our moveable goods, were it not for a Supreme guardian. If Children were without inſtruction, might we fitly call them the iſſue of the body or rather the iſſue of the mind? and, which were News to the Philoſopher, adde them to the number of the perturbations? Yet what were their Inſtructions and all their Rules, without a ſupreame Rule? And how could their inſtructers cheriſh ſo many tender minds, if a more tender

tender mind did not with wiſdome and bounty tender them? Thus is the Pelican ready to empty her own veins to fill her young ones; as if her life conſiſted not in her bloud, but in her Love. Thus then is a Parent in joyd in a King; the *Subjects* ſafety being the effect of His Danger; the *Subjects* pleaſure being the work of his Care. When *Jacob* in his journey and dreame ſaw Angells aſcending and deſcending between Heaven and Earth, he ſaid when hee awak'd *Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not.* Shall any in this World of troubles have the bleſſing of Peace, a Heaven on Earth, and wee not think on it? And ſhould they not as *Jacob*, who did then erect a Pillar, and powre oile on it, ſhould they not raiſe a like thankfull monument of Grace and Peace?

And as a Father muſt thus be acknowledged in a King: ſo Nature and Gratitude muſt preſent a Sonne in a *Subject*; a Sonne perfected into a Subject. Does the *Sonne* receave a Naturall life? The Subject enjoys a Civill one: that's but the matter, this the Forme; the Father but prepares; 'tis a King actuates. Does a Sonne, whiles a Sonne much differ from a Servant? Maintenance he receives; but injunctions for the uſe of

it: ſo that it is the matter rather of ſervice then choyce. But a *Subject* a little removed from his Fathers charge, enjoyes his eſtate as the argument as much of his wiſdome, as of his ſubjection: and ſo is no leſſe Honoured then Imployed Does the Sonne learne Action from the Father? yet all his activity is but in the Epicycle of a Family: whereas a *Subjects* motion is in a larger Orbe. Does a Sonne enjoy defence by a Father? the joy can yet but equall the defence: which being but like the petty danger, ends rather in Quietneſſe, then in Triumph. But the protection of *Subjects* being an act Royall of goodneſſe, is by the danger advanced in Love and Honour.

Yet is this more then commandment or deſert? And is not the firſt part of this duty the Prieſt's to teach it? Nay, ſhould it not be alſo the ioy of a good ſubject to performe the part of a good ſubject? And this duty chiefely is obedience; a taske for the proportion, as due by the divine will, from the *Subject* to the King, as by the Divine power from the Angells to God: his owne prerogative flowing from his Selfe-Right of creating the world; a Kings prerogative flowing from his derived right & care of preſerving the ſubject. But as ſome of the Angells did

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ſcarce ſooner receive, then breake, the Law of Obedience: ſo ſome men by an vnhappy imitation of ſuch Angells, are more ready to ſlander the weight of their yoke, then to beare it; forgetting, that even the moſt eaſy yoke may gaule onely by the ſtruggling in it. Yet ſuch reluctance might peradventure be neglected, if it diſturb'd not the ſupreme Revenue & Reputation, that being as the bloud, this as the ſoule. Without the firſt, there is no ſtrength, without the latter, there is no life; what is it then, to call a King Defender of the faith, if the meanes be withdrawen, wherewith he ſhould defend it? A ſon owes helpe & honour to his father: & is a ſubject leſſe indebted to his King? Hath not God himſelfe included the duty of Love vnto them both vnder the ſame commandment? vnder the ſame morall, & therefore vnder the ſame perpetuall Law? Or is there any whoſe vnderſtandanding is ſo vnnaturall to deny this truth? If not, why ſhould there be any whoſe affections ſhould be ſo vnnaturall, as not to obey it? Or ſhall we in an overplus-Charity miſtake our ſelves into a perſwaſion, that this duty has not only been Included, but hitherto alſo hidden in the obedience to a Father? To diſadvantage a King then either in Eſtate or Honour, is it

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not plainly unnaturall? But ſhall any yet exceed that ſonne of *Noah*, who though he reveal'd, yet never feign'd an infirmity of his Father? Has any diſloyally dared to feigne that Religion wavers? they fouly miſtake; as commonly they doe, that are more cuning in other mens lives then in their owne; Tis not Religion wavers, but their Loyalty. Has any feard, that the purity of the Goſpell is in hazard? It is indeed, when a profeſſor of it ſhall ſtaine his profeſſion of it with diſobedience. Can ſuch blaſphemie againſt Kings (for ſo the Apoſtle calls it, (2 *Pet*: 2. 10.) be call'd obedience, or rather a Tyranny over Kings? Or ſhall we ſay, the Heart's a good ſubject, when the Tongue's a Rebell? Obedience was anciently figur'd out by the Eare; and ſo by the Greeks was inſtructively called, ὑπακοὴ, a ſubmiſſive attention; and this the *Laytie* eſpecially from their ſcience of Heraldry, may remember to bee aptly implyed in the Helmet of a *Squire*, which is ſide-long, as with the eare ready for his Commander, whoſe armes he carried. Nor is it only attention, but alſo very conſiderate; nature having taught, that the ſcales of the eares are to be rectifyed by an even judgement. But now obedience ſeems to have fallen from the eare to the

the tongue, a member, that does not more eaſily move, then offend. Yet does it proclaime, that as every Traitor is a foole, ſo a Traitor in words is a mad-man; committing what is criminall and Revealing it. The Tongue, eſpecially when it is brought as an offering to the Lord, ſhould be ſeaſon'd according to the *Leviticall* command, (*Lev.* 2. 3.) *In all thy offrings thou ſhalt offer Salt*; but many bring either none, or too much; nay, that which was never commanded, onely ſalt; which is very fretting. Beſides, they turne the ſoftneſſe of the tongue into the hardneſſe of the teeth; and may perſwade us, that the Philoſophers ſpeak without a figure, when they tell us, that a man has ſome dog-teeth in his head. And as of the teeth ſome affirme, by way of difference from other bones of the body, that in the ſeverall ages of mans life they grow; wee may conclude it to be true, eſpecially of the dog-teeth. But ſhall any one think this to be obedience, and not account themſelves free, till they are factious? If a Subject be a Sonne, then ought he to be a ſtaffe unto his Father, wherewith not to ſtrike, but to ſuſtaine him. But ſome would deale with Princes, as *Adonibezec* once did; they would cut off their thumbs and great toes, the princi-

principall ſtrength of the hands and feet; that ſo they might neither with comelineſſe direct others, nor with ſufficiency ſuſtaine Themſelves. But if theſe men would admit reaſon, it might in point of Conſcience bee demanded, by what authority a private perſon can extend a perſonall correction beyond the perſons and bounds of his owne perambulation? And next may it not be asked, or rather indeed may it be asked at all, whoſe pariſhioner a King is? with ſafety and Truth it may be anſwered, that the charge of ſuch inſtruction belongs not to theſe men, who thus uſurpe the performance of it. Royalty is ſtill in its own Peculiar. The taske of private perſons towards Kings is properly (if not by ſpeciall appointment) not inſtruction but prayer. Before hand then to cenſure the heart of a King, which is in the hand of God, and ſo unſearchable, is by preſumption to make themſelves like the Divell, whiles by (pretended) foreknowledge they would make themſelves like God. Are we thus bold with private mens purpoſes, or would we have others ſo bold with ours? How dare then any that are Subjects ſit thus as judges over Princes? Even *Elihu*'s conſcience could queſtion, (*Job.*34.18.) *Is it fit to ſay to a King, thou*

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art wicked? and to Princes, yee are ungodly? Indeed, is not this to pull the Diadem from the Head, and weare it upon ſome ſubject part of the body? This was once done by the great *Pompey*; but this which he accounted glory, was by others accounted treaſon. Might not ſuch remember the terrour of a King, in the Majeſty of the Lyon: which of all creatures has the ſharpeſt teeth and the firmeſt, nay, and the firmeſt heart too? more eſpecially might not ſome remember the Lion rampant, by which ſome Majeſty is eſpecially expreſs'd; in which poſture that victorious creature is ſaid to poſſeſſe his vigour, being erect with mouth open, and clawes extended, as ready to teare the prey; preſenting thus not only terrour but conqueſt. They might remember, that, not only the Lion rampant, but rampant guardant, not only courage but alſo watchfulneſſe; not only theſe, but alſo the horne, the ſtrength of the Unicorne, are the ſupporters and guardians of ſuch united Majeſtie. But belike theſe men venture to deale with their Soveraigne, as groſſe ſinners deal with God, whoſe mercy indeed is over all his works; and ſhall their works be therefore the worſe, and deſerve no mercy? ſhall they ſtrive to be as tranſcendent in their ſin

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as he is in his forgiveneſſe? ſurely they cannot but remember, that though the roſe a royall flower, be of dainty touch, yet if touch'd rudely, it is deepely felt, but with more ſpeed then eaſe. The Thiſtle too, a royall flower, though it has its downy top, yet it wants not its defenſive prickles; and God grant, that this our royall *Carduus* may be for ever *Benedictus*. And would they would take notice of the vertues of this bleſſed Thiſtle, which is ſo ſoveraigne a medicine againſt the giddineſſe of the braine: 'tis this will ſettle it, and make it as quiet, as if it were mortified. This it is, that makes a good memory; ſo that if a man forgets his duty, this will prevent and ſupply the ſtudy or a ſtatute-book. This is it, that reſtores hearing; If the eare be grown dull to heare its duty, this will ſave the art and whiſper of a cane of trunke. This is excellent againſt a Canker; Malice it ſelfe cannot reſiſt the power of its charity. If the body be ſwollen with the treaſon of poyſon, this ſhall abate it to ſafety; nay, had one ſwallow'd an adder (unleſſe we ſhall diſcredit the Phyſitian) this ſhall diſpoſſeſſe him, and without the authority of an Exorciſme. They might remember the power, the vigour of Majeſty in the Eagle, which

caſts

caſts his bill, but renewes his age. And if they be at laſt ſtruck into a wiſe feare of Majeſty, let them be likewiſe ſtruck into as juſt a ſhame with goodneſſe, which ſo unworthily is abus'd. Shall a royall vigilance endeavouring on all occaſions, ſo prudently to moderate mens affections, be made a reaſon of any mans unreaſonable jealouſy? 'Tis an unnaturall paradoxe in the doctrine of cauſes, that evill ſhould proceed from goodneſſe; that the gracious actions of a Prince ſhould beget ungracious conſtructions! 'Tis an eſſay to treaſon to talke inquiſitively of Royall affaires; much more to talke ill; and is it not a cowardly injuſtice, to ſpeak ill behind one's back; nay, and of him, that does us good? But is it not the very malignity of Treaſon, to lay the calamity of a people upon a Prince? as if all the diſeaſes of the body begunne in the Head? *Marcus Antoninus* was of the *Roman* Emperours the beſt: His Times, if we meaſure them by Warres, Earthquakes, Inundations, Plagues, Dearths, the worſt; there being in his time almoſt nothing wanting either to be expreſſed, or conceiv'd (it is the teſtimony of *Aurelius Victor*) *quo ſummis angoribus atteri mortales ſolent*; with whoſe extreme vexations Mankind uſes to be worne-out. But what

what is the judgement of that Hiſtorian, upon thoſe evills? Does he contrive them into an argument againſt *Cæſar?* No, but to the ſhame of too many Chriſtians, he tells us, that but for the Emperour, the Empire had ſunke. And ſurely to his own honour, whiles to the Princes he ſaies of him, that he was *Ærumnis publicis quaſi defenſor objectus*; ſo that he makes him the Sheild of his people; or, as an atonement between his people and the divine judgement. Shall a Heathen thus plead like a *S*onne by the vertue of Nature, and ſhall Chriſtians become ungracious, whiles unnaturall? Even the *Stagirite* could ſay, Hee that doubts, whether or no he ſhould Honour his Parents, wants not reaſon, but puniſhment. And as Nature teaches us this honour to be due, ſo God teaches the waight of this honour, the word is כבד which implies a weighty glory. And it is but ſutable to the weight of glory, βάρος δόξης, ſpoken of by *S*aint *Paul* (2 *Cor.* 4. 17.) the reward of ſuch duty. Aptly then does *S*aint *Peter* (Epiſt. 2. 2. 10.) call Magiſtrates δόξας Dignities, or glories, and evill ſpeeches againſt them, Blaſphemies. The Apoſtles words are, δόξας δὲ τρέμουσι βλασφημοῦντες. Reverence then is due in Geſture

ſture, in Speech, in Obedience, in ſuſtentation. The *Rabbines* ſubtilly diſtinguiſh between our duty to God, and to our Parents, upon occaſion of that in the Proverbs (chap. 3. v. 4.) *Honour the Lord with thy Subſtance.* The Lord, ſay they, is to be honourd (they mean with an offering) if thou have ſomething; but thy parents, ſay they, though thou haſt nothing; for then thou muſt begge for them. How unnaturall then were the Times of *Henry* the Third? wherein that wiſe, yet unhappie Prince, was compelled to diſſolve his Royall Family; and as *Paris* a Monke of thoſe days ſays, *Cum Abbatibus & Prioribus ſatis humiliter hoſpitia quæſivit & prandia.* An unhappy Prince, but more unhappy Subjects (ſhall we call them ſo) that made him ſo? Even *Seneca*, though a Heathen could proclaime it, the happineſſe of Children, to be able by good turnes, to overcome their Parents; *Felices qui vicerint, felices qui vincentur*, ſaies hee. And does not the Storke, as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaies, cover his Parents with his feathers, when age has deveſted them of their own? as if he would raiſe them to a new flight? And does he not bring them food to their neſt? nay to their mouth? Where then ſhall appeare ſuch unnaturall Sonnes, ſuch unna-

turall Subjects, that dare caſt an evill eye upon their Father? Their ſuperlative Father? Such a Sonne, ſaies S. *Jerom*, deſerves blindneſſe; it may be added in another ſenſe, He is blind before he does ſo, that does ſo. To *ſtrike* one's Father, was death by the Law. (*Exod.* 21. 15.) To *Curſe* one's Father, was death by the Law (*Levit.* 20. 9.) To be *diſobedient* and *ſtubborne* to one's Father, was death by the Law. (*Deutr.* 21. 18, 21.) To ſet light by one's Father, was puniſh'd with a heavy Curſe, and all the people were to crie, Amen. (*Deutr.* 27. 16.) That was the Truth and the Burthen of the Curſe! Heavy, by the Generality of it; Juſt by the Command! The Law then for the Sonne and Subject being the ſame; the duty for both being the ſame; the curſe for both being the ſame; where is Love? where is Feare? where is Wiſdome? where is Grace? where is Nature? Are they not all fled from a rebellious breaſt? Are they not fled as farre, as the Rebell might doe, if he conſider'd his guilt?

Or is Sedition yet ſo confident, as to increaſe its confidence? and thinks to diſguiſe it with a Helmet on the head of it? The Church tells us of the noble Armie of Martyrs, which praiſe God; but that Army was Martyrd; and that Army never took up Armes.

Armes. Indeed, had zeale anciently armed it ſelfe againſt Soveraignty, we had never heard of a Calendar of Saints. But what at this day would this new zeale reforme? would it chaſtiſe the Creed, and condemne to Hell the Doctrine of our Saviour's Deſcent into it? Let them take heed, leaſt they follow him thither, but without a triumph, yet if to deſcend thither, be but to be buried, then have they beſtow'd a faire Monument on their own fore-fathers, profeſſing them to have deſcended into Hell, and that it is their own hope (if juſtice alter not the caſe) to goe thither after them. But why is this anger againſt the Creed? Is it becauſe in our Saviours death all was finiſhed? and therefore after his death no need of a triumph? Admit all to a Redemption was perform'd; was therefore a triumph over hell unneceſſary? In his death all was finiſhed; yet after his death a reſurrection alſo was not unneceſſary; an Aſcenſion alſo was not unneceſſary; and how is then a triumph over hell unneceſſary? The Enimy is ſlaine in the field, yet a triumph is not unneceſſary, but juſt and wiſe. The ancient fathers neereſt the Apoſtolicall times left us this doctrine, as agreeable to Scripture; and ſhall we believe the children of theſe times, ra-

ther then the Fathers of thoſe times? Or becauſe hell ſometimes ſignifies the grave, therefore heere? 'Tis a looſe *Logique*, that would have ſuch a concluſion. But what elſe at this day would new zeale reforme? Would ſome as unwillingly bend the knee at the ſweet name of *Jeſus*, as at the ſacred name of the Lord's Annointed, their annointed Soveraigne? The Name is the Remembrance of Adoration, not the Object; a Name for the remembrance of his humiliation for us; for whom he did not abhorre the Virgins wombe; and for his humiliation even to the death of the croſſe this name was advanc'd to advance his glory. And ſure'y in an evill houre ſhould any in theſe times ſeek to abolish in any way the divine worship of our Saviour, when as the *Socinian* would abolish his divine Nature. Let no man ſcruple then to bow the knee to him, who bow'd the head for us, and gave up the Ghoſt. Or is it the purity of a linnen veſture, which ſome ſo feare would defile the purity of the Prieſt? Surely in the figure and innocency of that dreſſe, *Saint John* under the times of the Goſpell did in revelation behold the Sonne of God. And by what riddle of change ſhall that Prieſtly veſture which was relatively holy in the Maſter

ſter, become offenſive in the ſervant ? Or, is it a *Cope*, which ſome fear, would diſſigure the Chriſtian Humility with *Levitical* pompe ? Yet the wiſe, the devout *Conſtantine* thus did dreſſe the Prieſts of the Lord, to preſerve in the ſervant the honour of the Maſter; to preſerve the Worſhippers of the true God, from the jeering eye of the Worſhippers of the falſe Gods; in brief, thus congruouſly to expreſſe to God their beſt thanks in his beſt gifts both inward and outward. Or, is it an *Altar*, that is become ſo conſpicuous an eye-ſoar ? Or, the bowing at it, which raiſes ſuch indignation ? Or, a *Rail*, which makes this ſeparation ? Alas ! and wherefore not an Altar ? Shall we fear or correct the languague of the firſt Chriſtian Church ? And what more frequent in the ancient Fathers, then the name applied to the Holy Table ? Did not the ancient Chriſtians bow downe before it ? Nay, even the Biſhop, did he not kiſſe it, the Royal, the myſtical, the Dominical, the Divine Table, or Altar, as the Fathers call it ? Does not our humility then juſtly expreſſe it ſelf at the holy Table to the Lord of the Table ? There let us call on the name of the Lord, who there eſpecially waits for us to receive our prayers, that we

may receive his eſpecial bleſſings. Is not our ſervice there an Euchariſt? And is not ſuch our Thankſgiving a Sacrifice, (as the *Pſalmiſt* call it)? Behold then an *Evangelical Sacrifice*, and an Evangelical Altar. Where is then the fear of Tranſubſtantiation in a Church, that without change condemnes ſuch change? And as the Bread and Wine are ſepearated from common uſe, ſo for it's proportion may not the Table too? Though capable it be not of Inherent holineſſe, yet it is of relative; in vain elſe had *Moſes* and *Joſhua* been commanded to put off their ſhoes. And if the ground were holy for the preſence of the Lord; is not this truly? Is not this reaſonably? A rail then muſt be granted, or a chancel denied; for what's chancel (*cancelli*) but a rail? This is the *Engliſh*, of the word; and from the ancient and conſtant ſituation of the rail, the place has in all ages and places had the name. Seeing then they allow a chancell, can they deny a rail? For then by the like reaſon, wee might argue againſt them; by ſaying they are Men, and yet by ſaying more, that they are unreaſonable creatures. Or, is it a ſuppoſed prophanation of the Lord's day, that makes ſome ready to prophane Soveraignty? Is it becauſe the Royal devotion has by an encreaſe

creaſe of devotion, denied all publique carriage on that day? Nay, all recreation till the evening of that day? To all that are recuſants of our holy rites? To all that are not attendants of our holy rites, both at the morning and evening-off'ring? Will they make up their reckoning by the truth of Arithmetique? Are there not twelve hours in the day, and is not the nineth the hower of prayer? Be that employd then on the ſoul, & another left for the body's repaſt, wat remains there for recreation, but the few minutes of an hower? But what does this concerne theſe men, who too often either deſpiſing, or neglecting publique devotions, need not make recreation their fear, it being no part of their allowance. And for the kinds of ſuch refreſhment, ſhall they in reaſon be defin'd by phancy or authority? And where is then this outcry of prophanation? 'Tis a ſad irreverence, without due conſideration to look upon the actions of Princes with a prejudicial eye! And are there not other Fathers alſo, the Biſhops of ſouls, whoſe prelacy, through the pride of diſobedient Sonnes, makes Envy maske it ſelf with an Humility? Or, are there any Fathers, to whom honour is not due? Or, may not the morality of this Law, in effect inuite them

to a prelacy? For, what is prelacy, but the honour of this honour? And what is this honour, but the eminency of providence, acknowledg'd by duty, acknowledg'd by love? Witneſſe the ſtately Cathedrals and Palaces founded by the devotion of our forefathers; after Gods honour to the honour of their ſolemne devotions and conſecrated Perſons? It were a matter of more trouble, then neceſſity, to repeat in this quarrel, what has been alleadg'd by the worthies of our Church. I need only adde, that ſingular atteſtation of *Clemens* the *Roman* Biſhop and Martyr, who was as neer the Apoſtles in Holineſſe, as in time, or, as *Ruffinus* calls him, *penè Apoſtolus*. Even then great contention happening among the Chriſtian *Corinthians* about prelacy, hee tells them, in an Epiſtle, he then writte unto them, that the Apoſtles knowing by our Lord *Jeſus* Chriſt, ὅτι ἔρεις ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς, that contention would ariſe about the title of Epiſcopacy, did therefore themſelves, being endued with perfect foreknowledge, ordain Biſhops in their life time. And for the reprehenſions he there beſtows on thoſe ſtickling *Corinthians*, *I* leave ſuch gainſayers to a ſecret bluſh and amendment at the reading of them. We may only ſigh

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out with him, what he addes, your *Schiſme* perverts many, dejects many, makes many doubtful, all ſorrowful, καὶ ἀπόμονος ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ σάσις, and your ſedition ceaſes not. Shall we call him Saint, or Prophet *Clemens*? Nor is this authority liable to the ſuſpicion of *Roman* art; the Copy comes from the afflicted innocence of the *Greek* Church, and from the learned and right worthy Induſtry of a Loyal *Scot*. But if this queſtion ſhall be decided rather by experience, then by book, where were Diſcipline without Prelacy? Could a feeble Presbytery, though perchance ſwelling enough, correct a wealthy, a potent offender? Perchance a Land-Lord, or a Patrone? We might as ſoon fell an Oake with a pen-knife. Nay, who ſhould exclude him from an Intereſt, and ſo unhappily a more unavoidable ſway in Presbyterial determinations? Is there yet any more ſcruple to diſturbe peace? And by private doubts, to make publique differences? A moderating there is of the differences about the counſails of the Lord and Man's end: ſhall this make ſome Immoderate? A neceſſary monition it is in the quarrels of Religion, that if the mind can not attain to ſo much ſubtilty, as to reſolve it ſelf, it much ſeeke to attain ſo much wiſdome, as to temper

per it ſelf. But in this particular, a reſtraint there is not of the Doctrine, but of the Interpreters, to preſerve it from inconſiderate or unlearned interpretation. Thus licence is taken away; thus liberty, thus truth remains. And has not the Church in former times been driven to the ſame courſe in the ſame cauſe? Did not King *Charles*, the Second, of *France*, about eight hundred years ſince, interpoſe his authority, when from the caſe of *Godſcalk*, the like contention aroſe between the great Prelates of *Rhemes* and *Lions*? And would not the *Roman* providence now rejoyce in a ſettled peace between the *Dominicans* and his *Jeſuits*? And as authority, ſo has not the penne amongſt them (witneſſe the curious labours of *Arriba*, *Pennot*, *Dola*, and others) endeavourd a compoſition, though peradventure with more ſubtilty, then ſucceſſe? But the wiſeſt rule in deciding controverſies, is it not to order them by the Scriptures expounded by the moſt Orthodoxe of the Fathers; and new doubts by new Concells, as we may learn from the late Inſtructions of the prudent pen of our moſt Reverend primate eminent as well for promoting unanimity, as learning? Surely to think, that the Divine wiſdome would leave the Church without

without a Guide, is to make the Divine wiſdome inferiour to humane, & ſeems too neer either to Schiſme or folly; whiles it would make the Church ſubject to as many opinions, as Perſons. Wiſdome then teaches man, that to fight a battel in the darke, or on a plot of ground not well examin'd, is never wiſe, and probably unhappy. Yet ſuch in this obſcurity and warrefare has been the unhappineſſe of too many, who not throughly vers'd in this doubt have ignorantly, or deſperatly raiſd ſtrange concluſions. If then a reſtraint be put upon ſuch exorbitant danger, is it to deny truth, or rather to preſerve it; whiles it leaves *Inſtruction*, and ſo Inſtructers, to the ſobriety of the ſettled article and rule of our Church? But peradventure an unwillingneſſe it is, and a pretended emptineſſe of purſe (next in value, with many, after the ſoul) that fills ſome unhappily with undutiful repinings. If ſuch there be, I would only remember them in love and prevention, with the Doctrine of the *Jews*, and the example of the *Grecians*, both very remarkeable. The *Jewiſh* Lawiers teach us, that their laytie, what in their Offrings to God, the Prieſt, and the poor, paid of their yearly eſtate a full ſixt part; that by their payment, one would not take

take them to be *Jewes*. And, for the *Grecians*, let *Conſtantinople* be a witneſſe, where, by a cloſe-handedneſſe in an inſtant warre, the Inhabitants confounded their Empire and themſelves; The enimy and deſtruction plainly acknowledging, that a ſmall part of the ſpoile, if ſeaſonably employed, might, have preſerv'd it from ſpoile. Or, doe any warrant themſelves, by a great miſtake of that great rule, *Salus populi lex ſuprema*? The ſafety of the people is the Aime of all Law? For, if by the people they intend the Body Politique, and ſo a Body not without a Head, we grant it to be as true, as ancient. But if it ſhall ſignify the people as diſtinguiſhed from the Prince, though they take it for a truth in Democracy, where all are people, they muſt know, that, in a Monarchy, it is but Treaſon. In Monarchy then we muſt take leave to expound it according to our *Saviour's* rule, Bee ye wiſe as *Serpents*, and harmeleſſe as *Doves*. Let them remember themſelves, that they be like Doves, without Gall; and we will remember them how they ſhall be like *Serpents*; not in venome, but in wiſdome. Now of all the Eminencies of the Serpents wiſdome, the chief is in the preſervation of his Head; which in caſe of danger, he wrappes about with

with the many fouldings of this Body. *In*deed, can the Body live without the Head? Thus then on Gods name let them as well remember as object, *Salus populi*, and then bee, as they *thus* ſhould be, Serpents. But for the members of the Body, to riſe againſt the Head, is it not unnaturall? is it not frenſie? Nature teaches them to be ordered by the Head; and is it not the way of confuſion, to diſturbe that, by which they ſhould be ordered? But thus it is, when every one will be his own King; for, what is it elſe, when every one will rule. It has been the queſtion of ſome curious witts, whether in the World there are more Heads or Feet. For the firſt, Land and Sea will plead; the waters yeelding ſuch a multitude of heads, and ſcarſe a number of feet. For the ſecond, the Land pleads by a double number of feet for heads; nay, we may ſay, innumerable feet for heads, if we call to witneſſe, the fly, the Emmet, and ſuch minutes of the Creation. In which doubt if any deſire reſolution, I think it not to be examin'd by the practice of nature, that is, experience, which in this point admits not a ſure ſcrutiny; but by the wiſdome of nature, which by a quicker way of reaſon, may thus inſtruct us; that as there are many effects

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for one cauſe, and more inſtruments of execution, then of direction; ſo ſurely are there more feet then heads. Let then the Members be content with their ſituation, with their duty, with their ſafety; and let their union be for the ſafety of the head for the honour of the Head; without which their own ſafety cannot be.

Whence is it then that any Sonne of *Nebat* dares make *Iſrael* ſinne againſt the God and King of *Iſrael*. Is it not from the great ſinne of pride, that would advance it ſelfe? that makes men look more upon their appetite, then their duty? But let them remember, that though the Hill may yield the more proſpect, yet tis the Vallie yeelds the more fruit. Let them remember that inferiours ſhould with modeſty and diligence attend their own charge; the ſtate of themſelves is but in part committed to them, the ſtate of a Kingdome is not committed to them; And as it is no part of their charge, ſo it ſhall be no part of their account. Let them remember the breach of *Iſrael*, which did firſt wilfully depart from their Soveraigne; and afterwards unwillingly, whiles perforce, from their Country: and that afterwards in two hundred years, they had both many more and worſe Kings, then

Judah

Judah had; and were at laſt ſeaz'd on by the divine judgement; to others inſtruction, but their own Ruine. Let them remember the bleſſing of Unity; and under God in his work and glory, our late renowned Peace-maker *James* the great. Whom God then has joyn'd, let no man put aſunder: whom God has joynd into one Nation, let neither forraigne envy, nor homebred malignity, put aſunder. Unity is a precious diamond, whoſe graines as they double, twice double in their value: ſo that by the quick art of the jeweller, though a ſparke of one graine, be worth but ſixe crownes, ſo many pounds is but the value of two graines in the ſame ſtone; ſuch is the fruitfull *Arithmetique* of Unity. Let them remember former Times, and ſtates, eſpecially the ſmaller, and they ſhall conſtantly find that by diviſion, they have been diminiſhed, if not deſtroyed; and at the laſt, made but the Appurtenances of Empires; and more uſually draind, then defended. What were the *Greekes*, though once they flouriſhed in Wealth and Wit? Though they withſtood the *Perſians* Inſolence, yet were they ſubdued by the *Roman* Wiſdome, and quite enſlaved by the *Turkiſh* Fury. But were

were they not divided, before they were deſtroyed? Did not their Diſtractions unite their enimies to Art and Victory? Let them remember the deſigne of Unity in the Conveniency of defence. Let the *Roman* Provinces be a witneſſe; which though at firſt they did a little ſtruggle for miſtaken Liberty, yet did not uſually their ſubjection become their purchaſe? Feare was before ſtill at the doore; and afterwards Safety; their terrour, a Potent enimy, by a rare felicity, being turnd to their defence. Let them remember the bleſſings of our *Canaan*; would they ſee *Solomon's* days, in his Peace, in his Wiſdome? can they behold it more eminently, then in his Temple and his Fleete? And may they not ſee here high degrees of ſuch Devotion and Wiſdome, for God's glory, and our Country's ſafety? And is it not the firſt, if not the greateſt Act of Wiſdome to preſerve it ſelfe? Let no Sonne then become ſo unwiſe, ſo unhallowed, ſo unnaturall, as to lift up the hand againſt his Father. When Kings are likened unto God, is it not occaſionally as well for their juſtice, as for their mercy? They beare not the Sword in vaine. And if God's wrath, as his mercy; ſhould be a patterne for Kings, had not all need to remember, with what exal-

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tation of phraſe the Almighty has expreſs'd the exaltation of his wrath, If I whet my glittering Sword, and my hand take hold on Judgement, I will render vengeance to my adverſaries, and will reward them that hate mee. I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my Sword ſhall devoure fleſh? But Oh, let the ſoftneſſe of nature, the juſtice of Duty, the Promiſe of this Commandement, (which is the firſt Commandement with promiſe; (Epheſ. 6. 2.) bend the heart and knee of every *Iſraëlite* unto their Lord, their Soveraigne Lord, their *S*overaigne Father; That ſo they may enjoy the Commandement in the Promiſe, by living long in the Land, which the Lord their God has given them. And let the Annointed of the Lord, the Father of our *Iſrael*, march with the thouſands of his people, and with the protection of our God. Let him be clad with the whole armour of God. Let his Loines be girt about with Truth, having on the breaſt-plate of Righteouſneſſe; Let his feet be ſhod with the preparation of the Ghoſpell of peace. Let him take the ſhield of Faith, wherewith to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. Let him take the Helmet of *S*alvation, and the Sword of God's Spirit. Let him march clad with

the prayers of his People; and let all his enimies periſh, O Lord. But let thine Annointed returne in Safety, in Peace, in Honour, to the Honour of thy Name, and the Peace of this thy *Iſrael*, Amen, Amen.

Of Vnitie,

A SERMON

Preached before *KING*
CHARLES the FIRST,
At *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, on *Whit-Sunday*, May 21. 1643.

By *BARTEN HOLYDAY* D. D.
Arch-deacon of *Oxford*, and one of
His *Majesties Chaplaines.*

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Ephes. 4. 3.

Endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.

NO Times have, more then Theſe, Pretended the Unity of the Spirit: no Times have more then theſe violated the unity of the Spirit. Which Spirit as on this day vouchſafing to deſcend to us, we may by the figure and neerneſſe not unhappily underſtand it, and moſt happily keep it. We may by the Art of this daies Miracle ſee this Spirit, though a *Spirit*; the vertue of it, whiles the reſemblance of it; A Reſemblance not preſented to the miſtake of *Sleep* or Phanſie, but to the Inquiſition and Loyalty of the Eye. Was not the Unity of the *Spirit* in the Bond of Peace, when this bleſſed *Spirit* did abide in the Society of the Apoſtles? And may not ſuch a bleſſing win us to an endeavour, and ſuch an Endeavour advantage us to keep ſuch a Bleſſing? That therefore we may perfect This Taske, and by this Our ſelves, we may with as much Hope as Deſire, of ſucceſſe, behold this *Unity*, a better then that of the Soule and body, a Unity of *Spirits*, the *Spirits* of Men united by the *Spirit* of God. We may behold this *Spirit*; which, though it informes not the Body, informes the *Soule*, not by Nature but by Holineſſe. We may behold

this *Peace*, whoſe perfection paſſes all underſtanding: whoſe comfort yet is in part apprehended by the Senſe, Wee may behold this *Bond*, which does not Gird, though Encompaſſe us; nay, whiles it Binds us, gives us perfect Freedome. We may behold the bleſſing of *keeping* this bleſſing: both being receiv'd from the Love and Inſtruction of this Spirit. We may laſtly behold this *Endeavour*, a greater Wiſdome then a Labour, and be allwaies found either Rejoycing or Endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

The Higheſt *Unity* is Gods property; Inferiour Unity is his work; a work of wiſdome being a Unity in a Multitude; a work of goodneſſe, being the preſervation of a Multitude. Which bleſſing yet is more frequently found in the inferiour creatures, then in Man; through the defection of the Will from the Underſtanding, as afterwards through the defection of both from God. Which degree of Diſunion being once made, Unity, which ſhould have been a comfort to man, became his Taske; ſo that now he muſt endeavour to be what he ſhould be and what he was, at Unity as a Creature with the Creator and with the Creatures. In which worke he may Learne Unity from the Creatures, they

they being unto him alwaies inſtruction and ſometimes ſhame, ſo wiſely preſerving themſelves into flocks and heards, as if they would advance the Unity of Inſtinct above the Unity of Reaſon. He may learne it from the Body; whoſe ſeverall parts unite and ſubmit their ſervices to the Safety and Majeſty of the Head. He may learne it from the firſt Integrity and Abilities of his own *S*oul: whoſe ſeverall powers of Motion, *S*enſe, Appetite and Will, were ſo united in their obedience to Reaſon, that they ſeem'd to improve themſelves, from the ſervants, into the Aſſociats of it. To attain which Unity, as it is Happineſſe, ſo to Deſire it, is Wiſdome, the way to Happineſſe. And to attaine it, *N*ature raiſes Families, Families Citties, Cities Kingdomes; as Faith erects the Church, and all theſe make up the World. Take Unity then out of the World, and it diſſolves into a *Chaös*, in which Nature it ſelfe can not find it ſelfe, whiles it can find neither End nor Way. Yet even this *Chaös* will be worſe then the firſt; there being in that the materialls of a World, but in this the Ruines; That was God's worke, but This Man's. Take Unity out of the Church, and Religion becomes *S*chiſme, excluding Love, and ſo leaving the Deity without a Sacrifice;

which since mans creation being relatives, as they can not be divided without the injury of the *Spirit*, so can they not be join'd without the Unity of it. Take Unity out of a Kingdome, and it remains a Body rather large, then sound; nay, which sometimes falls into such a diseas'd state, that the unwilling & *Soveraigne* cure, as the Chymiques prescribe is a mummy made of its own tainted blood. Take Unity out of a City, and it is sooner conquerd, then beseeg'd, the surest and first triumph being not over the walls, but the men. Tis discord makes the Battery, the Canon but reports it; and easily must they fall by an Enemy, that fall without him. Take Unity out of a Family, and Divorce soon enters; which is the unhappy palsy of marriadge, deading the one side, and grieving the other. Unity then is that, which should be kept: yet as we must keep it, so we must not mistake it, the only Unity which we must keep, being the only Unity, the Unity of the *Spirit*.

There is a *Spirit* that rules in the aire: but this Spirit is but an unruly one, onely working an unhappy Obedience in the Children of Disobedience. And sometimes it so works, that it may rather seeme Flesh then Spirit, swelling man into a tympany of Ambition;

bition; which at laſt diſcovers it ſelf to be not fruitfulneſſe, but diſeaſe. Sometimes it works by ſuch potent ſuggeſtions, that, as if it diſdaign'd to informe a ſingle natural body, it dares venter to animate a People, a whole body politique, unnaturally ſtriving to make it an unnatural body, a body either without a head, or weary of it. Sometimes This Spirit works moſt potently by poſſeſſion, as it dealt with the madman in the Goſpel, that toar off his clothes and lay amongſt the tombes; a madman indeed, that caſt away ſo much as a winding ſheet, being ſo neer a grave? And yet may there be no other Found as unhappy, if not more unhappy, who though they tear not their rayment, yet eſteem not a whole skin, calling danger glory, and peace ſloath? But unhappy Spirits they are, that are more the Enemies, then the companions of their own bodies! as if they gave them life, only to lead them to more infamy of death? Unhappy Spirits, that would leave no body behind them to remember them, or not ſo much to remember them, as to diſclaim them! Unhappy Spirits, whoſe union is conſpiracy; and whoſe ſtrength is Outrage! As then the unity of the Spirit muſt be kept, ſo muſt it be a true

unity

unity of Spirit, and therefore of the true Spirit, that is, the unity of the *Spirit* of unity This is that Spirit, whoſe wiſdome teaches us, that though we can not decide many things, we muſt not differ in many things; nay, becauſe we cannot decide them, that therefore we muſt not differ; not differ beyond opinion, the difference being but from opinion. This is that Spirit whoſe perfection teaches us, that we can heere no more attain to a perfection of knowledge, then of Holineſſe: that ſome ignorance in the arguments of Religion implies not an imperfection in Religion, but a perfection in God: that the Divine Law has indeed God for the Authour; yet various man will be an outward Interpreter. This is that *Spirit*, whoſe providence teaches us, that the Government of the World is like the ſtructure of it, it being founded upon imparities; the naturall creatures having a Locall ſubordination, the rational having a politicall, and ſometimes a ſacred: which differences as it it the Divine will to appoint, ſo is it the Divine power to Compoſe. This is that Spirit, whoſe love teaches us, that though he once appeared in the likeneſſe of firy Tongues, yet that th y took not their flame from the fire of Hell, but of Charity: that, though they

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were divided, it was not to Preach diviſion, but a Goſpel: that love is the ſoul of the ſoul, uniting, though not the parts of the naturall body, yet the many bodies, as ſo many parts, of the myſticall body of the Church. If then we would find the true ſubject of this Spirit, we muſt ſeeke the true nature of this Spirit. Where then we find wiſdome withdrawing the will from the quarrels of the underſtanding, and more eſteeming of Peace, then of opinion, there is this Spirit; where we find perfection rather Endeavourd, then pretended, and the Divine Law unanimouſly expounded not by Children, but by Fathers, there is this Spirit. Where we find providence, that does as willingly maintain, as eaſily diſtinguiſh juſt imparities, not more readily acknowledging a diverſity in the Lights of Heaven, then in the lights of the Church, and making thoſe differ in honour, whom God has made to differ in gifts, there is this Spirit. Where we find love, more tender then the eye it ſees with, looking upon Wife and Children, as on the Inſtructive and deputy pledges of God himſelf; looking on its Country, as on a ſeat, though not as pleaſant, yet as dear, as Paradiſe, being a place not of choyſe but lot, and ſo made ſweet by the hand of the

Patrone,

Patrone; looking upon the Church, as on the type of Heaven, and ſtudying the Peace of the Citty of God, the God of Peace, there is this Spirit; there is the Unity of this Spirit.

This Unity then of the Spirit can not be preſerv'd with a violation of the Spirit: the Unity of the Spirit muſt not be preſerv'd with the breach of *Peace*. We may not do evil, though good might come thereof: we may not do evil, that good may come thereof. Not only carnal good from evil does not juſtify; but no good, no not a purpos'd good can make evil good. Royalty then muſt not down for the advancement of Religion: Nay, the violation of that is alwayes the violation of this; it being not glory, but blaſphemy for a Rebel to enſtyle himſelf Defender of the Faith. The old truth was, object ingratitude and ye object all crimes: and is it not as old a truth, is it not a higher truth, object Rebellion, and ye object all crimes? It being, in effect, neerer to a flout, then a truth, to call a Rebel a Chriſtian. Is not Chriſt our Lord the Prince of Peace? And can men of blood, the Children of Diſobedience, be the *Subjects* of that Prince? Shall Chriſt give the Name, and *Mariana* the Heart? Shall Chriſt Character the fore-

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head, and *Junius Brutus* the Brain? He is of a bad profeſſion, and ſo but a bad Profeſſour, whoſe profeſſion is Diſobedience. The *Phariſie* was the preciſeſt Artiſt in the Devotion of the *Jews*; his pretence was the maſtering of his paſſion, his practice was the maſtering of his Prince. Let Saint *Paul* deſcribe ſuch, & he will call them ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν, a moſt exact ſect; ſuch a ſect, as made *Paul* a Sectary, nay a Perſecutor, till he was Perſecuted. Let *Hegeſippus* deſcribe them, and he will call them a ſort of Men zealous, ſubtle, buſy, covetous. Let their wiſe *Joſephus* deſcribe them, and he will tell us, that their authority with the people was ſo great, ὡς ἂν κατὰ βασιλέως τι λέγωσι καὶ τῇ ἀρχιερέως ἐυθὺς πιστεύεσθαι, that if they ſpake any thing againſt the King or the High Prieſt, it was preſently beleev'd. And he will tell us, that they were Enemies to Kings, that they were of power to diſturbe their Kings, to raiſe warre, to doe miſchief, that is to be peace-breakers with extream devotion. And he will tell us, how they perplex'd their King *Hircanus*; how they broke his Son King *Alexander*; how they aw'd his Widow Queen *Alexandre*: who was glad to be rul'd by them, that ſo ſhe might ſeem to rule others; how they occaſion'd

caſion'd quarrel about the Crown between his Sons : who to end their difference but to begin their miſery, chooſing the Roman for their Judge, found him become their King; and their Country at once with their Kingdome unexpectedly layd proſtrate into a Province. This was the work and reward of notorious zeal: They found the power, but the *Roman* found the plot. Nay, theſe were they, who not onely thus enthraled their *Jeruſalem*, but at laſt deſtroyd it; whiles they would acknowledge no Lord but the Lord of Lords, the Almighty: profeſſing that they never feard the deſtruction of Their City the deſtruction of God's City! Yet the World now ſees that neither they, nor their *Jeruſalem* is to be ſeen, except the ruines of them as a witneſſe! And that whiles by Rebellion they labour'd to ſave their City for God; God has abandond both it and them to His Enemy, to Their Enemy, *Mahomet*. There is no art but muſt be allow'd ſome Principles, which muſt be the ground-worke of ſuperſtructions: ſo that the ground of art is not art but nature. And ſurely in the Art, in the high wiſdome of Monarchy, no more ſure, no more neceſſary, that is, no more natural foundation can be laid, then this,

this, the ſword may not be drawn nor ſheath'd without ſupreame command. And where ſhall ſuch ſupremacy be found, but in a King? Shall perſons not annointed be above or equal to the Lord's annointed? Behold Royalty in the Originals of Nature; Is it not the power of a Father enlarged? For ſome then to affirme, that a King, though greater then his *Subjects* divided, is leſſe then they, when they are Unised, what is it but to ſay, that the Patriarch *Jacob* had indeed Authority over his twelve Sons conſiderd ſingle, but that they when United had Authority over Him? A moſt unnatural aſſertion, and as full of vanity, as of falſehood? Belike, ſuch new *Utopians* would have a Round of Government (as ſome the like in the Church) not unlike the motion of a Wheele, in which every ſpoak becomes uppermoſt in his turne. But have we not learned, that a King is the Head, and the People the Body politique? And has not Nature committed the Peace, & ſo the ſafety of the Body, to the wiſdome of the Head, without whoſe direction, the motion of the parts is but commotion? Number, which with order is a cauſe of Peace, is without it too ſure an argument of errour; when a people runs into a tumult, may it

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be call'd an Aſſembly, or a great miſrule? Which degree of diſorder, as it commonly begins not without much miſtake, ſo does it goe on with much more miſchief. *Such* was the ſedition of the *Jewes* againſt *Paul*, when they cryed out, away with ſuch a fellow from the Earth. The miſchief was, they violated his Perſon: the miſtake was, they thought he had violated the Temple; ſuppoſing he had brought certain *Greeks* into it, and ſo polluted it. On which ſuppoſal for a while the upvoare was ſo loud, that the accuſation it ſelf could not be heard: as if the outcry of the tumult had ſtriv'd to exceed the malice of it; and did continue with ſuch outrage, that authority arm'd with the *Souldier* was fain to be the violent Peace-maker. Indeed that is uſually the unhappy and neceſſary concluſion of ſedition. Thus *Ephraim*, who would not be pacified by words, ſo provok'd *Jephtha*, that allmoſt a whole Tribe became the example, as of the ſin, ſo of the puniſhment. Thus *Abſolon* provok'd & ſuffer'd the juſtice of a Father: whoſe tenderneſſe, Alas, bewaild his own Victory and his peace! So that it fares with ſuch fire-brands of a Kingdome, as it did with thoſe, that caſt the innocents into *Nebuchadnezzar's* Furnace, they being the

the ſureſt fuell of thoſe flames! Peace then muſt be kept, the Bond of Peace, and the Unity of the Spirit in that bond. Is not this, in the beſt extent of this bleſſing, the Church in the Common-wealth, as ſome phraſe it? Compare Peace with Unity, and is not Peace the Larger? Is it not the Bond? Wee muſt not then make this bond too ſhort.

Yet has it been the Witt and Miſtake of ſome to make the Church a Houſe, and the Commonwealth the Hangings, which ought to be fitted to the Houſe. But this ſimilitude ſeems to be fitted more to their Aime then to the Truth. And ſurely we may admire, that ſuch Authors, the Authors of this compariſon, ſuch overſeers, as the overſeers of this building, would be ſo overſeen, as to make that which is narrower, contain that which is larger! Themſelves making the Church to contain only the Good; but the Commonwealth to contain both Good and Bad! More congruous it had been, though not exact, to have made the Commonwealth the Outſide of the Church; for that had been to grant it to be of more Capacity then the Church, and to be, what it is intended to be, the Defence of the Church: the Outſide of a building being contrived

by art, to make void the violence of ſtorme and Age. Yet this compariſon were not exact; the outſide receiving its forme from the houſe it ſelfe: where as the Church does not give forme to the Common-wealth, but receives from it a devout Defence. Otherwiſe the Common-wealth ſhould ſtill vary, as the Church: whereas we ſee in a long experience, that the Jewiſh Church and the Chriſtian, though ſo different, have yet in their ſeverall ages, ſubſiſted and flouriſh'd under the like Outward rule, Monarchique Government. To ſettle the Church then, as ſome now would, upon the flat of a Presbytery, and then to affirme, that it muſt give forme to the Common-wealth, what is it from ſuch premiſes, but dangerouſly and unjuſtly to inferre the degrading of Monarchy into Popular Goverment? We may then more obviouſly, yet truly liken the Civill State to Bulwarkes, and the Church to a City; for as when the fortifications are wonne, the Citty is ſoon loſt, ſo when the Bond of Peace, the Lawes of a Nation, are broken, the Unity of the Spirit, the Doctrine of Religion will be quickly diſſolv'd. But ſurely the bond of Peace ſhould be made ſurer: and though by Practice ſome have ſomewhat weaken'd it; yet have

have ſome by Doctrine ſomewhat weakned their own practice. Conſcience is a new Edition of Man's workes and words, uſually preſenting them corrected and amended. What the zeale of *Knox* was, that is, what his life was, let his Life witneſſe: What Doctrine his Death preach'd, let his friends tell us, who write his Life: and they will tell us, that but a little before his death, making an exhortation to his brethren of the Miniſtry (and ſuch Sermons ſhould like death make deep impreſſion) he bad them beware of ſuch (and many ſuch, he told them, there were there) as had not only denied the Royall Authority, but alſo fallen from the truth, which they profeſſed: to whom, if they repented not into the way, whence they had erred, he denounc'd the deſtruction of body and ſoule. A ſpeech that ſetts forth the juſt end of ſuch unjuſt wayes & errour: and that juſtly claimes of us a fidelity of memory, being expreſs'd in the fidelity of Death. What the zeale of *Rollocke* was, let his Life witneſſe: what his candor of Loyalty, let his Death witneſſe: who in an exhortation likewiſe to his Brethren of the Miniſtry, did with Vehemency of Spirit in a dying body, move them to Peace and Obedience to their Prince; magnifying the

felicity of their Times and King, and ſeriouſly adviſing them to beware, that they caſt not downe the Church from its height of happineſſe. This was the Wiſdome and Loyalty of Death; that a man almoſt in the point of his own diſſolution, ſhould endeavour to keep others in the Bond of Peace. Theſe mens examples, are to men in ſome things precepts: and would they would make theſe precepts in death their ſure examples in their Life. Then would not the Bond of Peace be ſo eaſily broken, or would as eaſily be united. In the dayes of *Alexander* the Second, King of *Scotland* there was a marvelous breach of this holy Bond in an outrage of the multitude, no leſſe Mad then Cruell, committed upon one *Adam* then Biſhop of *Cathnes*, whom inhumanely they burn'd alive in his own houſe. A fire of wrath, alas, too cruell! yet not ſo cruell, as ſometime the fire of zeale! The circuit of that flame was but domeſtique; but this ſometimes over-runnes a Country. Yet the Motive to this extraordinary act, was not Epiſcopacy, his Eminent Order in the Church; but an Ordinary act of it, his Excommunicating ſome, for their Contempt and Obſtinacy in not paying their Tithes! They ſhew'd themſelves to be as deſtitute of

mercy,

mercy, as of Juſtice! They firſt robb'd God, and then kill'd his Prieſt? A very congruous and graceleſſe Method? In which fact, had not their fury been blind, they might have ſeen the promiſe, which they loſt in the diſhonour and cruelty toward their Spiritual Father; even long Life in the Land, which the Lord had given them; and ſo whiles they had longer paid the Tithes of their eſtates, they had longer with duty & ſound policy kept their eſtates. But as this was a marvailous breach of the bond of peace, ſo as marvailous was the repair of it; there being no leſſe a number executed for this crime, then fower hundred perſons! A number ſubtilly (as may be ſuſpected) conceal'd by *Buchanan*, but faithfully mention'd by *Boëthius*. And ſuch was then the Juſtice and devotion of *Scots* upon *Scots* in behalf of a Biſhop! And ſurely it was well, that the greater part was the wiſer: though the worſe was too great, being enough to undoe the bound of peace and themſelves. And as the fire of wrath is thus wild, ſo zeal ſometimes yields a worſe wildfire. But as in the fire which amongſt the *Jewes* deſcended and burn'd up the Sacrifices, that were accepted, the face of a Lion (as the Rabbines tell us) did appear: which (not to queſtion the truth

of the relation) may uſefully ſeem to have implied the acceptance of all *Sacrifices*, by the *Meſſias*, the Lion of the Tribe of *Judah*: So may we not as truly ſay, when in the Fires of arm'd ſubjects zeal, the face of the Lion, the countenance of the Prince does not appear, can ſuch be acceptable flames? Can ſuch be acceptable ſacrifices? Obedience is better then ſuch ſacrifice!

The Bond of Peace then is like a juſt man's promiſe (it is indeed his duty) it muſt be kept. To get and Enlarge are probably Acts of Wiſdome and power: but to keep what is gotten and enlarg'd, implies ſome acceſſion of Happineſſe. Inheritance, though it comes by nature, yet in beſt Tempers it comes with wiſdome, and does as well Inſtruct, as Inrich: whiles the mind prevented in the wiſdome of Purchaſe, employs it ſelf in the wiſe happineſſe of preſervation. It was the taske of *Cæſar*, to draw the ſword: it was the taske of *Auguſtus*, to Sheath it: the firſt was the work of power; the laſt, of Wiſdome: which more diligently ſtudied how to Bound the Empire, then poſterity did to Enlarge it. And ſurely though under *Trajan* (yet happy then alſo) it was of greater extent, yet was it under *Auguſtus* of greater Happineſſe: This bringing it to a Height,

the other to a precipice; whence if it mov'd forward, it was with Ruine, if backward, with ſhame. *Trajan's* felicity then was rather of the Man, then of the Empire: of Earthly happineſſe That being the Trueſt, which we doe as well Bequeath, as Enjoy; good men counting it their beſt felicity, to make Succeſſion rather the Partaker of their felicity, then the Admirer. A wiſdome which ſhould as effectually encline a people, as a Prince, to deſires of Peace. And this was that, which in Story, if we will look ſo farre backe, has ſo renown'd the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy; which triumph'd in power Thirteen Hundred years, and ſince in Fame about Twiſe ſo long: the length of their felicity ſupplying the defects of their ſtory. And this was that in a neerer example, which unto this age has added ſuch glory to the *Scottiſh* Monarchy: which, if ſtory be not Poetical in Antiquities, has farre out-liv'd the *Aſſyrian* date, being now almoſt two thouſand years old! To which rare age that Body of people never attain'd by the calenture of Rebellion, but by the ſound conſtitution of obedience. Obedience indeed was the beginning of their glory; they ſwearing Obedience to their firſt King *Fergusius* and to his Succeſſours: for ſo ſpeakes *Buchanan*, for

all his Dialogue ; *Ferguſio victore domum reverſo Scoti ei poſteriſque ejus regnum jure-jurando confirmarunt.* This was a Covenant no leſſe wiſe, then large; Obedience being a ſubtle Victory over Kings ; the art of duty having been ever more powerfull then an unreverent ſword: This may ſometimes get : but That only can keep. Now getting without keeping is but the proſperity of Melancholy ; the beginning of it being but in a falſe joy, but the end of it being in a true ſorrow. As then the wiſe hand, which knowes as well how to keep, as get, , is of ſuch moment and praiſe in civil life;ſo needs muſt it be attended with ſucceſſe and glory in the buſineſſe of the Church, Which, if it keep but an Outward Unity, becomes Glorious; as, if it keeps an inward Unity, the Unity of the Spirit, it becomes happy. Unity indeed is the Health of the ſoũdeſt body, yet uniformity is the beauty of it:which is always the aime,though not alwayes the ſucceſſe of an exact ſtatuary. Knots, or Croſſe-veines may make the ſtuffe ſometimes leſſe obedient to the Edge and Wiſdome of the chizell ; and ſometimes unhappily ready to cracke-off in the working : yet conformity of the parts is ſtill in it ſelf the Art and Improvement of Perfection.

If

If we behold the Church of *Rome*, ſhall we deny in it wit and Succeſſe? When as, though it has almoſt been utterly diſolved by ſome tedious *Schiſmes*; the meer recovery to a Union and continuance, has made it become Famous, and ſeem Happy. O then let us learn that Special wiſdome, which is to learn wiſdome of an Adverſary. Let us diligently Imitate, yet wiſely Inverte the *Roman* Practice; Let us become happy, and ſeem Famous; yea, let us become happy, though we ſeem not Famous. And ſeing that in a private eſtate, the beſt purchaſe is of Fee ſimple, whereby one does at once, with the beſt skill of Thrift, both get and keep; Let the Art of Unity be made the Study of Conſcience.

Indeed without Study this Art is not attaind, not fit to be attaind. Whiles then the Apoſtle moves us to Unity, and moves us alſo to an *Endeavour* to it, he beſtowes upon us as well a Diſcovery, as an Exhortation, ſhewing us not onely the End, but alſo the means. Endeavour then is that without which, Unity is rather Deſird, then Attaind; And therefore the *Grecians*, to ſhew their wiſdome in their Endeavour, bound themſelves to true Unity, to concord by an Oath

Oath', and bound themſelves to ſuch an Oath by a Law; endevouring to preſerve Peace by a double bond upon the Soul and upon the Body. The *Romans* us'd a like wiſe Endeavour, and whiles in a Higher, in a wiſer ſtrain, making Concord a Deity; thus ſeeking Peace not by an Oath, but by Prayer: an Oath importing their Own beſt ſtrength; but Prayer implying the Aide of Heaven. And even thus wiſe, that is, thus peaceable were very Heathen; thus peaceable among themſelves, though without grace; thus peaceable by wiſe Nature very like grace; ſtriving to make their Peace and their Country of a like circuite. Who then would not ſtudy the nature of Endeavour? Who would not ſtudy the Art of Endeavour? Diligence there muſt be, as in a Right Archer, that makes his arrow as intentive as his eye. Strength there muſt be either of Love or Warre, even ſuch contrary wayes leading to the ſame Unity: which though in it ſelf it implies Love, yet in the attaining of it, is eſpecially like Heaven, which is ſometimes taken by violence. Speed there muſt be: when the Bond of Peace is in danger to ſlippe, what hand will not be quick, what hand can be too quick to repair it? Skill there

there muſt bee; a reciprocall skill! 'Tis not enough felicity for the moſt wiſe hand to direct the ball, if by the hand that ſhould receive it, it be either neglected or diverted. That therefore Diligence, ſtrength, ſpeed and skill may proſper, the *Roman* deity muſt be rectified into Truth, concord into God: whoſe goodneſſe is ready to make an exchange with us, to give us Peace for Prayer. The *Sabine* Women arm'd only with Love and Interceſſion conquer'd two armies, getting a Victory more famous, then the Sword can win, and more ſure then any, but the Victory of Prayer. Pray then we muſt for Peace, peace, to Advantage Prayer, not corrupt it; peace no leſſe holy, then firme, nor more attended with gladneſſe, then with Innocence. Which if our firſt parents had not loſt, they had rightly Dreſs'd, and ſo kept their Paradiſe; nor had that inſtant terrour & expreſſion of warre, a fiery ſword, driven Man from God! Indeed the mercy of the Judgment drove him to the Fear of God, whiles from the Fruition of him; and ſo at laſt drove him from Paradiſe to God! But the Divine mercy preſerve us from this way of mercy, from this way of Unity, by preſerving us in our Paradiſe, and in a Uni-

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ty with God and our ſelves. Preſerve us in the *Spirit*; by which, whiles we cry, *Abba* Father, we may remember to make Brotherly Love a part of our Care, as it is of our Inheritance. Preſerve us in peace; ſo preſerve us in peace, that warre may be alwayes more Odious to us, then Neceſſary. Preſerve us in the Bond of Peace; a bond that may holily encompaſſe both Prieſt and people; a bond that may happily encompaſſe and Vnite Nations. Preſerve us in the wiſdome of keeping Vnity; that neither deſperate malignity may precipitate any, nor miſtaking devotion ſlide any, into deſtruction. Preſerve us in the Endeavour of this wiſdome, the wiſdome of preſerving our *Britiſh* Vnion: which being the happieſt Bridge, that was ever raiſd over *Tweede*; ſo may it prove as perpetual as the ſtreame, which it embraces. And that this our Endeavour may proſper, let it Employ and *Improve* it ſelf by Imitation. Let us either imitate the bleſſed tongues, which as on this day appear'd, by a holy *Silence* (for they were not heard to ſpeake any thing, though the tongues of Others ſpake by Them) or let us imitate the tongues of the Apoſtles by holy Languague. Let the Light of theſe wonder-

full

full tongues, teach us to ſpeak with knowledge; remembring, that though *Joël* foretold, that in the later dayes the *S*pirit ſhould be pour'd upon all fleſh, Saint *Peter* in the *S*tory of the Apoſtles Acts, has told us, it was perform'd in This day's wonder; ſo that now the ability of inſtruction is not to be expected from Miracle, but from Induſtry. Let the fire likewiſe of theſe tongues, teach us Charity; and therefore that we never Preach Libel, inſteed of Reformation. More eſpecially in Peace let every one for his proportion practice a good *I*mitation of the good *Conſtantine*; who caſt the handwritings of Complaints into the fire, quenching ſo with natural flames, the unnatural flames of contentions. In Warre, let the Loyall Example of our Forefathers goe forth with all our Forces, Providence being the Right Wing; the left, Power; and Vnity, the Body of the Army. *S*o ſhall Treachery, the falſe *S*on of Zeal, be as ſhamefull in its Fall, as in its Riſe; and ſo ſhall Loyalty, the true *S*onne of Zeal, at laſt Triumph in the juſt defence of the juſt Defender of the Faith. Which grant we beſeech thee O Lord of Hoſts, for thy *S*onne's ſake the Prince of Peace, and effect it by the power

power and Vnity of Thy Spirit. To which Bleſſed and Eternal Trinity in Unity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, be for ever aſcribed the Glory & Comfort of Victory and Peace.

OF

Rebellion,

A SERMON

Preached before the Right-Honourable, the Members of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*,

At Saint *Marie's*, May 19. 1644.

By *BARTEN HOLYDAY* D. D.
Arch-deacon of *Oxford*, and one of His *Majesties Chaplaines*.

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1 Sam. 15. 23.

Rebellion is as the Sinne of Witch-craft.

IT was no leſſe Truth then phancy in the Philoſopher that ſaid, could vertue be ſeen, it would Beget Love and Advance it not only into Admiration, but Rapture: as if for a time it would deprive the ſoul of its Happineſſe, by tranſporting it beyond the apprehenſion of its happineſſe. A truth which teaches us a like truth; That Vice, could it be ſeen, would by the Eye ſtartle the ſoul to a ſacred deteſtation, whereby it would chooſe rather to fly the Society of the Body, then not to fly the corruptions of it, which wiſdome, though taught by Reaſon, is Deliver'd alſo and confirm'd by grace: which, intending to ſet forth the foulneſſe of diſobedience, ſetts-forth Rebellions the fouleſt diſobedience, expreſſing it by a Compariſon not odious, though of that which is moſt odious, With-craft. The occaſion of the Inſtruction was a Diſobedience in omiſſion, by an Earthly King's Neglect of the King of Heaven; by Fearing the People more then God; by diſpleaſing God to pleace the people. But the Bounty of the inſtruction is more Chatholique, extending to Active, All active Diſobedience, intimating this Theological Truth of proportion, that ſince Hee that owes obedience

only to God, becomes ſo guilty only by omiſſion, more guilty muſt they be, and by Active diſobedience, that owe obedience to God and Man. So that Rebellion will be as the ſin of Witch-craft; this being a Treaſon againſt God, by a commerce with his Enemy; that being a Treaſon againſt him, whiles againſt his Annointed. View them in their *Certainty*, in their *Motives*, in their *Practice*, in their *Succeſſe*; and we muſt acknowledge by the Fitneſſe and Truth, that this Inſtruction is not only True but Divine.

Behold the Art, behold the confidence of witches. Is it not a part of their cunning to Deny their cunning? A part of their wickedneſſe to deny their wickedneſſe! Proving their Guilt, whiles they Deny it, by Bewitching ſome to be their Patrones, that yet would Bluſh to be their Diſciples? Have not ſome of learning and gravity thought themſelves wiſe, in thinking Witch-craft rather a Miſtake, then a Crime? And the Black Honour to have been only miſcall'd the Black Art? Have they not remov'd the Reſidence of this ſin from the Will to the Phanſy? And made it a work fitter for the Poet, then the Judge? Have they not at leaſt made it ſo, under the Time of the Goſpel, thinking This light no more to permit, then Allow, ſuch work of Darkneſſe?

neſſe? Have they not endeavour'd to remove it as farre from the Cenſure of the Law, as from the Time of the Law? Have they not Eluded Divine Teſtimony, rather then Receiv'd it, againſt this Practice, which is a Craft, and would be a Myſtery? But doe we not know by the Divine word, that Witch-craft is? And by the Divine Juſtice, that it is condemn'd? Is not the Law, as well as *Endor*, a witneſſe of ſuch commerce? A witneſſe againſt ſuch commerce? And doe we not know, that under the times of the Goſpel, Man is of the ſame Frailty, and Sathan of the ſame Malice? And doe we not not know, that Temptation is not like the Law of Ceremonies, that was to be Aboliſh'd; but like the Law moral, by which both Temptation and ſin ſhall alwayes be attended? And is not this the unhappineſſe and vanity of Rebellion? Have not ſome Artiſts made it a buſineſſe rather of Invention, then of State, beſtowing upon every man a Natural ſupremacy, which might have ſav'd *Cæſar* the toil to have Fought for a Monarchy? Shall not every man in his Family, thus become a King *Adam*? And every Sonne now by a ſupernatural Deviſe become an Elder Brother? A Philoſophicall Empire, when Individuation ſhall be Royal-

ty! When men ſhall be Kings by the Pole! when to have a Head, is by the Riddle of Independency, ſufficient Right to claime a Crowne! What, will not ſome bolder Noviliſt ſay? Is not my *S*oule, nay, is not my Body Perfect, being the Worke of the moſt perfect? and ſhall I betray my native Abſoluteneſſe, to the Infamy of Relation, to Dependency? Or, if a Fall in our forefathers muſt be acknowledg'd, muſt it not be acknowledg'd in All? and ſo, doe I not ſtill retaine, though not the old *S*upremacy, yet an Equality? As if Nature had made every man a *Cæſar*, who could endure no *S*uperiour; though not a *Pompey*, who could endure no Equall. If, ſay they, men aſſociate themſelves into a People, is it not more for ſafety then for ſervitude? and ſo rather Wiſdome, then Duty? Or, if they Humble themſelves into a People, and are content to be the Neck and Shoulders to ſuſtaine a Head, is it not for the Direction and Nouriſhment of the Body? Who, ſay they, is the Author, what the End of Goverment? Does it not Beginne, does it not End in the People? Beginne in their Will? End in their Wellfare? What then ſhall be Rebellion? ſhall it be more then a Topicall ſinne, found indeed under ſome Monarchicall Meridians?

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ſhall it be more then a Conditionall ſinne, a ſinne but of one's owne making, whiles but by one's own Conſent? Thus Inconſiderate is their ſubtile Boldneſſe. What's the Efficient cauſe of a King? ſurely a quaint Queſtion? yet a queſtion that has been moved; and ſuch a queſtion, as will find diverſe anſwers. Aske of a *Conclave*-man, and he will tell you, the *Roman* Prelate, attributing to the Triple Crowne the *S*overaignty over All Crownes. Aske of the Diſciplinarian, and in ſubſtance he will tell you, the People, making Them the *Alpha* and *Omega* of Dominion. Aske of the moderete Proteſtant, and he will tell you, God: who ſometimes conveighs Royalty by Nature, ſometimes indeed by Choice, as ſometimes by the Sword. Againe they will aske, what's the Finall cauſe of a King? and they will anſwer, the Peoples wellfare. Certainly a True Anſwer; and as certainly an Imperfect one. The Peoples good is an Inferiour purpoſe of Majeſty: the Repreſentation of the Divine Majeſty is the Higheſt purpoſe of Humane Majeſty. Heere God's Majeſty will be ſeen; though heere but as in a glaſſe; yet ſo God in a King. The principall uſe of the Glaſſe is in the principall object ſeen Throngh the Glaſſe, ſeen beyond the glaſſe.

A King is a *Servant* for the People: but he is Gods ſervant. Does not the Law of our Liturgy teach us to teach thus? *That Hee knowing whoſe Miniſter He is, may above all things ſeek thy Honour and Glory.* And does not the ſame Law teach us, *That we his Subjects duly conſidering whoſe Authority he hath, may faithfully ſerve honour and humbly obey him*? And whoſe Authority has hee, that ſhould thus Humble us? Our own, or Gods? A Miniſter he is for the People, but alſo over the People, whiles alſo for God. Let none then Diſcourſe themſelves, let none Devote themſelves, mock themſelves, out of their Liturgy and Loyalty! And then we ſhall bee not ſo bewitch'd, as to deny the certainty of Witch-craft; nor yet ſo ſeduced to a Rebellion againſt Reaſon, as to deny the unhappy certainty of Rebellion. But unreaſonable ſubtilty will ſtill ſeem to be reaſoning; and at leaſt will Queſtion, when it cannot anſwer. And aske it will ſince there is witch-craft, and therefore a Witch, what a witch is, and how as ſeriouſly to be convicted, as Puniſh'd. That a witch is one, that has power over the Divell, is as Ridiculous, as Falſe; and is not only an Errour, but has been alſo the cauſe of Errour. That a Righteous man has power over the Divell, is not naturally

true

true ; it is ſpiritually true. His victory over the Divell is remotely obtain'd by the power of prayer, but immediatly by God's power. Humane power is naturally leſſe then Angelical ; and thus the Devil is naturally greater then the Witch , yet the Exerciſe of this power is not only by Nature , but alſo permiſſion. And by permiſſion the evil Spirit can poſſeſs a living body;cā forme in the aire a Shape of bodily creatures,can delude & ſatiſfy the Eye,the Ear,the touch.He then that has a Friendſhip, a ſenſible Commerce, with this Spirit of Hell , is an Enemy to Heaven ; This is a Witch.And this converſation being evident to ſenſe , the ſenſe of the Witch , is therefore poſſibly and occaſionally evident alſo to the ſenſe of the Witneſſe. Had not this way of Evidence been poſſible, then had the Law been void : and had it not been ſufficient , then had the Law been unjuſt. But witneſſes there were for This condemnation , and therefore Evidence from ſenſe for the Condemnation. Confeſſion alſo is Legall Conviction ; unleſſe Reaſon Perſuades, that it proceeds not from Conſcience , but Diſeaſe. And is not this the ſtate of a Rebel ? Who is not one that has power over the Devill ; Alas , he is not his Lord , but his ſlave ! Is he not one , that by the Bon-

dage of Covenant is more ſubtily united to the Spirit of Diviſion ? Some Difference there is indeed ; but the more difference the more danger. With the Witch the Devill uſes more ſenſible converſation ; with the Rebel, Intellectuall ; with the witch he deals in ſome domeſtique ſhape, as if he were manageable to a Tameneſſe. With the Rebel he uſed artificial Inſtruments ; as the tongue of the pleader, the brain of the ſtatiſt, the devotion of the Prieſt, the diligence of the Citizen, the wealth of the Merchant, or the pretence of the Diviner ; when he would act ſomewhat of no leſſe Fame, the miſchief; then is he certainly to be ſuſpected, when he uſes creatures moſt to be ſuſpected. When he employd the *Serpent*, he intended not only an *Eve* or an *Adam* ; 't was not a Perſon, but a generation was his aime. When he uſes a Rebel of malignity, an old Serpent, 't is not a Man, no not a Monarch, but 't is Monarchy and a People that he would Venóme to Deſtruction. Indeed the *Serpent* is naturally ſo ſubtle, that he may ſeem not to Imitate, but Surpaſſe the Devil, and as the more expert, to have given him his name ; the Serpent being not uſually call'd a Divel ; but the Devil being uſually and aptly call'd the *Serpent*. He then that has Commerce

merce with the Spirit of Rebellion is a Rebel; whoſe properties the Law as well Diſcovers as Condemns. And ſuch a one is he, that ſeeks to deſtroy a ſettled Monarchy; by an attempt of as much guilt, as ſubtilty; a guilt which the known Law as well makes known, as Deteſts: that ſeeks to deſtroy fundamental Laws on which it is ſettled; thus Aiming at deſtruction and deſerving it; Fundamental Laws, which preſerve the Liberty of the Subject, without which the people are not in Peace; which alſo preſerve the Prerogative of the Prince, without which a Prince can not be at Peace. Theſe indeed are foundation-ſtones in the ſtructure of Government; things that ſhould neither be remov'd, nor mov'd. And as theſe Laws are Excellent, ſo alſo are they Eminent. Laws are like Foundations, and therefore in ſome things not like. Similitude there is between them, not Identity. Thus are they like Foundations, as they Bear up Government; they are yet not like them, as Foundations are things, which no body can ſee. Binding Law muſt be known Law: promulgation is of the Eſſence of Law. When *Rome* firſt wondred at a parricide, they conſulted upon a Law for his puniſhment. They were allmoſt as neer a miſtake, as a Conſultation, and

and prov'd more innocent by chance, then by Intent. They made indeed a Law, or rather enlarg'd one, whereby he was condemn'd to the *Culeus*: but their Old Law for Murder appointed him to the laſt puniſhment; the Addition by their new Law was not Death, but Circumſtance; The wave, or, the Axe; the keeping in of Breath, or the letting out of Blood, was not Death; 't was but the Faſhion of Death. Thus all Treaſon is known by Law that is known. Revelation could not work upon Man, had he not Reaſon, wherewith to acknowledge Revelation to be Above Reaſon. Thus Witch-craft and Rebellion are alike in their Certainty and conviction; and not unfitly, being alike from the beginning, in the place of their beginning; not Hell, but Heaven: There was the firſt witch, there the firſt Rebel; only with this difference; that there they were not alike, but the ſame; the firſt witch there being the firſt Rebel the abus'd Excellency of an Angel of Light bewitching him into the Darkneſſe of Rebellion and Hell.

A like they are in their *Motives* in reſpect of God and of Themſelves. Sinnes they are allwayes when we look upon Man; puniſhments they are alſo, when we look upon God.

God. When man too unhappily Loves that which God hates, God ſometimes lets him moſt unhappily love him that hates him, and, by the worſt of miſtakes, to take the Devill for his God; and thus to be ſo farre betwitch'd, as to be a witch. When man likewiſe too perſeveringly Rebells againſt God, God ſometimes lets him as perſeveringly Rebel againſt Man, againſt the Man annointed by God; his obſtinacy againſt God being Expos'd and puniſh'd in his obſtinacy againſt a King. If yet we ſhould wonder, what ſeeming good can make Man ſo verily evil as to become a witch; as the Law tells us what he is; ſo obſervation may tell us, why he is what he is: And indeed we may ſee him ſomewhat mov'd by his Humour; which though abſolutely, being but Natural, it makes him not guilty, inclines him to the way and faſhion of his guilt. Sometimes Melancholy corrupts into Curioſity, Curioſity into ſuperſtition, as the obſervation of things rather ridiculous then ominous; which ſuperſtition at laſt turnes into Witch-craft; the mind thus becoming firſt vane, and then wicked. Sometimes Phlegme putrifies into ſottiſhneſſe; ſottiſhneſſe into an Ignorance or Negelect of all Religion; which Implety likewiſe at laſt is wretchedly perfected

fected into Witch-craft. Sometimes the Blood is Overheated into luſt or Ambition, the falſe delights of the Body and mind; for the attaining whereof, with no leſſe Folly then guilt, it miſtakes it ſelf into Witch-craft. Sometimes choler is ſo whetted by Poverty, or worſe ſharpen'd by deſire of Revenge; that chooſing rather what is worſt of all, then nothing at all, and ſillily leſſe fearing an Immortal Enemy, then a mortall, takes for its helpe Witch-craft inſteed of God. And are not theſe the preparatives, is not this the Diſpoſition of the Rebel? Is there not the Melancholy Rebel, that growing curious, would fain have a taſt of Soveraignty? Like our firſt parents, that would needs have knowledge of Good and Evil? though indeed it prov'd the knowledge of Good and the Practice of Evil! And does not his curioſity ſometimes grow Superſtitious; making the *Ephemerides* or a Prognoſtique Rime the Scripture of his phanſy? With exact ignorance pointing out the Riſing and ſetting as well of Kings, as of Stars? Thus changing vanity into Crime? Is there not the Plegmatique Rebel, whoſe Sottiſhneſſe changing into Irreligion, makes him as careleſſe almoſt of an Earthly King, as of the King of Heaven! And foolihly think, that he

he has caſt off Subjection, when he has but chang'd it; nay, inſteed of being the Subject to a King, become the Slave of a Rebel? Is there not the Overſanguine Rebel, whom Riot makes an Enemy to Juſtice, as well as to Temperance? Whom Ambition ſo blinds, that it ſets him in the wrong way to Honour which he ſeeks, by ſeeking to the Devill for it, when as it is only in the Diſpoſal of God and the King? Is there not the Cholerique Rebel, whom want of means moves into want of Duty, ſtriving to make a King, as wretched as himſelf, when he can not make himſelf as vertuous, as a King? And is not alſo ſometimes Revenge of more force with him; then *Soveraignty*? *Is* it not ſweeter to him, then Obedience, or the bleſſing of Obedience, long Life? Or, the beſt bleſſing of that bleſſing, a good conſcience?

View their *Practice*, and you muſt needs view their likeneſſe. The practice of the witch, whether ſubtle or groſſe! For, neither knowledge nor ſexe Excuſes nor morally varies their commerce. Does not the Conjurer undertake and abuſe the knowledge of things on earth, and in Heaven? Is not his preſence a Government of Spirits, is not his Practice a ſervitude? Has he not his Circle, his Faſts, his Prayer? Has he not his

his Earthen Pot full of perfum'd fire, his book, his Sword? Has he not his frightning Apparitions, his *Seals* of *Servesy*, his Binding of Spirits? Has he not his distinction of Operations, of Purposes, of Dayes? Would he obtain Treasure, Fore know Events, get the Victory in Battel, does he not then consult his *Mercurial Spirits*? Would he Repair the Decayes of Learning, Advance the poor, cast down the mighty, does he not then consult his *Mercurial Spirits*? As for other purposes other *Spirits*? And doe these Mercurial Spirits sometimes appear like a Bear, or a Dogge, or a changeable colour'd vesture? And is not the motion of them as the motion of a glift'ring, or *Silver* cloud? View the Ruder witch the Conjurer by Roat, and has shee not store of Ignorance, and Zeal of mischief? Does shee not Learn to doe Evil, and would shee not yet sometimes seem to teach the Devil to doe good? Is shee not one that has only wit enough, and conscience enough to Damne her self? And is not this the Condition and veriety of Rebellion? Is there not the Seducing and the Seduc'd Rebel? The one sort full of wit, and both of willfulnesse? Doe they not prophane the knowledge of things Naturall and Divine, making the Stars the servants

of

of their Art and malice? Doe they not Calculate and Attempt the Periods of Kingdomes? And whiles they would ſeeme to become Rulers, doe they not make themſelves unruly Servants? Have they not their Circuite of Activity and Intelligence? Have they not a Devotion, that ſometimes looks like Faſting and Prayer, Exerciſes not of Sanctity but of Pretence, if the Body be not Humbled by them, and the Soul Advanc'd? If they look as pale with Envy, as with Faſting? If they riſe not ſo high by Prayer, as by Ambition? Would any invite us to ſee their Humility? Would any invite God to ſee their humility, with what Humility they come into his preſence, if they ſpare not to tread upon the Crown and Miter? Is this the Holy Trampling under foot the Lion and the Dragon? Have not ſuch their Earthen Veſſel too full of fire? Perfum'd indeed, but with the Incenſe of Sulphur; making a ſinner like his own Helli, a Habitation of Fire and Brimſtone? Have they not their Book, which they make theirs more by miſtake, then by underſtanding? Being ignorant commonly of the Language, and too commonly of the ſenſe? A book whoſe Myſtery poſes them, and whoſe Letter condemnes them? whiles they Hate their Enemies, whom, if

not

not truly Enemies, Nature bids them Love; if truly Enemies, Grace bids them Love. Have they not a Sword, whose best Commendations were to be Rusty, so it were not with Blood? Have they not their apparitions, as monstrous as Jealousy? Have they not their close counsails, as much remov'd from the eye of the People, as the *China* Monarch? As much remov'd from their understanding, as the Table of *Isis*? The *Delphian* Oracle compar'd with This, was but an Essay of the Devill's wit? Have they not the Art of Binding of *Spirits*? Their Familiar Spirits? Making them more readily forth comming by commitment, then by Covenant? Have they not their diversity of Works, sometimes by Flattery, sometimes by Cruelty, alwayes by pretence? Their diversity of Plots, still varied according to the Newes and Degrees of *Successe*? Their diversity of times, more distinguishing the Calender by Propheſies, then by Months? Have they not their *Mercurial* Spirits, for the obtaining of Wealth, Fore knowledge, Victory? Things that are only disposed by God, though sometimes to the ungodly? So that they alwayes shew the Errour of their way, even when they attain the End of their way! Have they not their Projecting *Spi-*

rits,

rits, for the Repair of Learning, whiles they deſtroy the Learned, that ſhould repair it? Miſtaking Zeale for knowledge, and ſo the affections for the underſtanding? Their projecting Spirits for the advancing of the Poor, whiles they compel Hoſpitals to become Benefactors to Rebellion! Leav'ning them only to their New Endowment, Hunger and Curſing? Their Projectors for the caſting down of the mighty, though againſt the Command of the Almighty, making themſelves under God, what God has made a King, *S*upreme Governours? And are not theſe Spirits ſometimes like a *Bear*, for Cruelty, for Craft, for unquietneſſe? The Bear, that tears the Prey, and when purſued, leaſt he become a prey, goes backward into his den that the Hunter rather miſtaks, thē finds the way of his paw? The Bear, whoſe head or feet are alwayes in motion? And are not theſe Spirits ſometimes like a Dog? Whoſe common diſtempers are Bloodthirſtineſſe and madneſſe? A creature that is the ſire of blind whelpes, which (as ſome obſerve) the more they are, the longer 't is e're they ſee! And are not theſe *S*pirits ſometimes like a changeable-colour'd veſture, which by the Art of Mixture pleaſes and cheates the Eye? View it one way, 't is

Azure, not unlike Heaven; you'd take it for a Robe of purity and Peace: View it another way, you'll judge it a full *Sanguine*, a garment rowl'd and delighted in blood! And are not these Spirits sometimes like a *Silver* cloud? A cloud indeed of more show then moisture; a cloud that is more ready to bestow his droppes upon the *Sea*, then on the Land? Lesse profitably and lesse naturally upon the Sea, when as it owes it self unto the Land! View the under-Rebel, the Rebel by Implicite Disobedience, and is he not solemnly Ignorant, and Devoutly mischievous? Does he not Break All Lawes, whiles he would have some made; seeking indeed to make Law rather then preserve it? Does he not loose true liberty in the pursuit of mistaken Liberty? Does he not endeavour to Purify the Church by Sacriledge, counting it not holy, till it be Poor? Is he not one of so cunning a Conscience, as to conveigh himself into *Slavery* and Damnation? Surely Rebellion is as the *Sinne* of Witch-craft!

View them in their *Successe*, and you must needs again view their likenesse. What's the *Successe* of Both? *Is* it not *Sorrow*? Sorrow to see their foolish losse of Innocence, and their Just losse of safety? Is it not

not *Poverty*? Poverty, that is ſometimes a puniſhment for great ſins, and often a Provocation to them? Is it not ſhame, which no veil can cover, nor Impudence can Neglect? Is it not Death? Death, which in moſt caſes is the End of miſery, but in theſe rather the beginning? Surely Rebellion is as the Sin of Witch-craft! Could any man elſe Delight in ſorrow? Confidently embrace fears! Leave poverty to his heirs as the ſureſt Inheritance, which indeed can neither be plunder'd nor Forfeited? Make ſhame his Heraldry; ſhame; which unhappily is as perpetuall as glory! and after Death lead a life mixt with Death, by the riddle of miſery? Yet has not this been the common Reward and deceit of this ſin? Whatſoever has been the Pretence, has not this been commonly the Reward? Did not the Nobles under *Henry* the *Third* pretend the protection of of the *People*? Did they not under *King John*, calling themſelves the *Army of God*, pretend the Protection of *Royalty*, though not of the King himſelf who (as ſome ſillily tell us) had given away his Royalty and People to the Pope? Did they not under *Edward* the *Second* pretend the protection of vertue it ſelf? And did not *Wiat* among others pretend the protection of Religion

it ſelf? Yet did all theſe pretended protections of Royalty, of People, of vertue, of Religion, protect them from the common Fate and Merit of Pretenders? Could then Rebellion ſtill prevail on reaſon, were it not a Witch-craft? Behold its ſucceſſe in picture, that is, in its *Deſolations*; and can the News ſo much affect, as the Sorrow diſaffect? Behold Deſolations in the *City*, the late Royal City; does it not ſend out its People, brought up in Peace, to the Sword? Does it not wofully empty it ſelf of ſinnes by emptying it ſelf of ſinners? Are not its *Palaces* defam'd into Jails? Places of Honour and liberty changd into places of ſhame and Reſtraint? Are not its *Churches*, where formerly was ſounded the Goſpell of Peace, fill'd with the clamours though not of Law, yet of Warre? Are not their *ſtreets*, where once Joy and Freedome triumph'd, ſcarce free for a Loyal whiſper or a ſigh? Are not her Inhabitants Stript, though not by *Iſraelites*, yet as *Ægyptians*? Have they not loſt their Jewels with their Peace? And could Rebellion thus prevail, were it not a Witch-craft? Behold deſolations in the *Country!* Is not the Horſe almoſt grown a ſtranger to the Plow, and more acquainted with the Muſique of the Piſtol, then of the whip?

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The Oxe more familiar with the Shambles, then with the yoak? Has not the flame lick'd, if not devour'd beautiful habitations? Is not the whole year become an Autumne, wherein Trees, by unhappy neceſſity, ſeem as careleſſely to fall, as formerly leaves? Is not allmoſt every where Baldneſſe inſteed of Beauty? As if Warre meant not to leave felling, till there were no timber left to helve an Axe! And could Rebellion thus prevail, were it not a Witch-craft? Behold Deſolations in the *Univerſities!* Doe not the Arts mourne, as if their former Blackes had not been a token of civility, but of propheſy? May not *Grammar* forget congruity in ſuch an Age of Irregularity? Is not *Rhetorique* a Soloeciſme, betraying its decay of Art, if it beſtowes wordes on that ſorrow, which is beſt expreſs'd by ſilence? *Poetry*, though it have rather Argument then Leaſure, may yet fear to be no leſſe poſed then Employd, Invention being prevented and out-gone by Action! *Logique*, cannot well retain its Reaſon, being ſo over ſet with Diſloyalty and ſtrife? *Arithmetique*, that was once not tired in numbring the ſtars and Sands, now taints with Melancholy in reckning the ſlain and captives? *Geometrie*, that was acquainted and delighted with Holy Architecture, finds

now employment but in the Trench and Bulwarke! *Astronomie* has more *Galileans* ſtill gazing at the effects of her laſt Comet, then at all her Stars! The *Optiques*, as if Injuriouſly hindred, weep, that now ſcarce any thing is ſeen but by Refraction; which yet may be increas'd by our juſt tears! *Muſique* is ſo fled or chang'd, that Harmony, like Obedience, may only be found in Heaven, or the Heavenly! The Earth, the Water, the Aire, the Fire, are even ſo Tainted, that *Philoſophy* knows not its own Elements! and ſo divided, as if they would ſcarce agree to farther compoſition? *Morality!* Looks it not like an old peece of chivalry? The Vertues and vices being taken for Wanderers and Phanſy, for *Utopians* Errant? *Oeconomie*, may it not fear a famine, and implore your Honourable mercy? If the Plow ceaſe the Grinders muſt ceaſe; and the Mourners, if there ſhall be any, and they able to goe, may goe about the Streets! *Policy* is become of more Practice then Succeſſe, and very like the *Italian* Maſters, of that Craft; being commonly as Bad and unhappy as *Macchiavel* and his *Borgia!* The *Phyſitian* has not loſt his Art, but Tir'd it, in the diſcovery of diſeaſe, in the recovery of Health; which alwayes was held Imperfect, and now Faigned! The *Law* ſees the

the old Enmity of Man; but not the old Remedy! *Divinity* is become like prophan'd Majesty! It had once Prerogative; now Subsistence is denied! It seem'd once to have its part, whiles on Earth, in Heaven: and surely now it seems to have no part in Earth! 'Twas once the Rule of Reason and Wisdome: 't is now the Servant of Ignorance and Outrage! The Priest had once a part in most *Sacrifices*: the Priest himself is now become the Sacrifice! And could Rebellion thus Prevail, were it not a Witch-craft? Behold desolations in the Field, a great *Aceldama* a field of Blood, a field of Battel! Where destruction is an Art! Where to deface the workmanship of God in Man is glory! Where Phlebotomy is not Cure, but mischief! The Blood so flowing, as if the Body were all Vein! Where the Horse and his Rider strive as much to surpasse one an other, as to surpasse the Enemy, whiles in a superexaltation of courage, they seem as greedy of death, as of Victory! Where the Sword and the *Speare*, the *Instruments* of Destruction are destroyd! Where the Roaring of the *Canon*, and the Groanes of the Wounded are a Representation and mixture of the most obstinate Terrours Thunder and Hell! And could Rebellion thus prevail, were it not a Witch-craft? A like then they

are, unhappily a like; both Pernicious, both Diffuſive! plagues that invade Countries and People! Our Neighbour *France*; if the Confeſſion of a Witch may be believ'd, had in it at one time, as *Bodine* tells us, above a hundred thouſand Witches! A half quarter of the Number had been wonder and plague enough! And has it not had alſo thouſands of Rebels? Diſeaſes theſe are, that in our own Country have over ſpread Man and Ages! The Records of each Country can witneſſe againſt Witch-craft: the Records of our Nation can witneſſe againſt Rebellion. Peruſe our ſtory for allmoſt ſixe Ages, from the Invaſive Armes of the Norman to theſe preſent Inteſtine, and you ſhall ſcarce find the Raigne of any Prince free from the Diſtreſſe of Treaſon or Warre! Not the Cruelty of the *Conquerour*, the Proſperity of *Henry* the *Second*, the Victories of *Edward* the *Third*, nor the cunning of *Henry* the *Fourth*; Not the magnaminity of *Henry* the *Fift*, the Simplicity of *Henry* the *Sixt* the Prudence of *Henry* the *Seaventh*, nor the confidence of *Henry* the *Eight*; Not the Innocency of *Edward* the *Sixth*, the devotion of Queen *Mary*, the Juſtice of Queen *Elizabeth*, nor the mercy, nor the Manifold Excellencies of our *late* & *preſent Soveraignes*, have

have yet preſerv'd them from the Diſtreſſe of Treaſon or Warre! As if the Wiſdome of the Divine Majeſty would in this Life temper the felicity of Humane Majeſty with ſome diſtempers! And teach a People, if they be His people, that they are not only the People of his paſture, but alſo the Sheep of his Hand; that he does not only Feed them, but Examine them; that when they come into his hand, it uſually is to be Fleeced or Cured, and ſo is uſually not without loſſe or pain.

But ſhall wee now more neerly ſee the *Provocations* to permit Rebellion, in reſpect of God? Religion and Conſcience will find out ſins! Sins in the City; behold pride of wealth, though often got by a ſervile hand! Envy at Nobility, though the proper right of Birth or vertue! Gluttony, a vice in a great Fortune, a Curſe in a ſmall. Deceit in Trade, a ſecret Theft: Extortion, an Impudent Theft! Libertiniſme; an Independency, proper to the Devill's Corporation, being never granted by God or Prince! Sins in the Country; behold pride alſo there; the Inferiour ſwelling not towards the worth of his ſuperiour, but the vanity! Behold alſo there a Lay-Non-Reſidency of the Rich, which in times of peace, too much neglecting their Habitations, may ſeem to have

have provoked God to Neglect them: and as they have depriv'd the Countrey of Exemplary vertue and of its Native wealth, by carrying up their wealth and appetites to the great City, their gold, by the *Alchymy* of Sin, returnes exchangd in Lead and Steel, to lay waſt their dwellings! Behold alſo their malice, the melancholy of Sin, corrupting the opportunity of bleſſed contemplation, into the Curſe of Imagining miſchief! Sins ſhall we find alſo in the Reſidences of the *Muſes?* Alas, they have more need of Comfort, then accuſation; yet ſome would there eſpy out pride. But can we ſuppoſe it in an eſtate founded upon pietie? 't Were againſt Juſtice. Can we ſuppoſe it in an eſtate founded upon Worth? 't Were againſt wiſdome; worth being moſt Humble, when it is moſt! Some would eſpy out ſloath; which there were rather an Impropriety, then a vice, being contrary to the nature of Learning, which, like vertue, delightes in Action. But can any eye eſpy out Coveteouſneſſe, being inconſiſtent with the Liberall Arts? Sins ſhall we find alſo in an Army? Yet there in ſome behold Rapine, that makes pretence Title and violence poſſeſſion! Behold drink and luſt, by which valour is wounded without a bullet, and ſham'd without Flight!

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Behold the Day of Divine worſhip ; and happy were it, if the Body of that worſhip were at leaſt attended with the due ſhadow of it. Behold the injury offerd to Gods Honour in his Name, a ſin that is moſt Familiar, and ſhould be moſt ſtrange to a profeſſion, that ſtands ſo much upon point of Honour. The great *Satyriſt* called a Souldier a Sacrament, or Oath, becauſe a ſworn Man, or one that had taken the Oath of Fidelity to the *Roman* General. Yet without figure he did intend, it ſhould be underſtood Not without Figure. But now we muſt deſire, that an Oath and a Souldier may not become the ſame Thing, and ſo unhappily looſe a very good Figure! And are there not yet other provocations, Entravagant both for their Subject and Degree? Is not the underſtanding ſometimes too Audacious, ſwelling into Hereſy, as againſt even the Godhead of our Saviour? For which Rebellions againſt God, does not God often ſuffer Rebellions amongſt Men? Did not *Poſa* the *Jeſuit* within a Ten year's Remembrance, raiſe even the *Spaniſh* devotion, though ſo *Saturnine*, in too many, and too great ones, unto Opinions not only againſt the School-maſter of their Church, *Aquinas*, and the Fathers of the Church, but with a preciſe

preciſe Impiety againſt the Apoſtles creed? Has not their own *Vargas* (whither under a Name of Truth, or of Fiction and Safety) diſcovered the danger with as great Zeal, as the *Iberian* ſtatiſts have endeavoured to cover it with Wiſdome? And yet may we not ſuſpect ſuch Tumult in Religion, to be Repreſented, if not rewarded in their *Catalonian* Tumults? Which without a Fleet may ſeem to have brought the *Netherlands* into *Spain?* And is not the underſtanding ſometimes too Humble, falling to an Adoration of humane Wiſdome, thereby ſhewing its humane folly, whiles it would make Men, what God will not make them, Infallible? The Council of the *Amphictyones*, that long ſaved *Greece* from diſſolution, could not at laſt ſave it ſelf from it! It proved Finite, both in the Degree of the wiſdome and the continuance; though it continued ſixteen Hundred years. The great Concil of God's own people, were ſo deſerted of God, that they condemn'd the Son of God of Blaphemy againſt God! To overvalew Humane power is likewiſe an argument of humane weakneſſe. Whiles our Seas and Cliffes have made us ſwell with pride, and ſtand-high with ſcorne of a forraigne Enemy, have we not forgetfully divided our ſelves againſt our ſelves,

ſelves becoming like the Waves and Cliffes, which we would needs be like, one dreadfully daſhing againſt the other? And are not the affections ſometimes dangerouſly Fixt on the defence of an old plunder? Nay, the attempt of a New? Impropriations are the outcry of many; bnt are they the Care of many? Or is their Reſtitution wiſh'd with as due Charity, as Zeal? Outcry for the Church muſt not deſerve an Outcry againſt the Church. Are the Poſſeſſours of them more endebted to the Church, then other Chriſtians, when they receive no more benefit, then other Chriſtians? Are they held of the Church, or of the Law? And ſhall the Higheſt Aſſurance, Law, by which they are held, make the purchaſe juſt; and ſhall the Higheſt Aſſurance, Law, make the poſſeſion unjuſt? As then Religion tells us, that the bleſſing of the reſtitution concerns a People; ſo Juſtice tells us, ſo Charity not only towards the people, whom this Spiritually concernes; but alſo towards the particular Poſſeſſours, whom this temporally concernes, require the Charge of the reſtitution, of the people that are partakers of the Bleſſing; a bleſſing doubtleſſe, no leſſe poſſible, then Admirable? Admit in ſome latitude of reckoning, the Number of *Impro-*

priations

priations were Fower thouſand; admit their value were thriee fower ſubſidies; Wiſdome, and Peace, and Time, can contrive the redemption; and inviting God to beſtow on our Nation Pardon and Fame, Eternize This for the Great, the Holy Councill; and This people for the Holy People! But are there not ſome more ready to take away, or exchange, what is left? As if they would teach the living to make a New will for the Dead? Nay, for the living God? Who has by his own Authority freely annex'd Tith to the Prieſthood of *Melchizedec*, and therefore made it as perpetual, and ſo as unchangeable, as that Prieſthood. And are not the affections ſometimes dangerouſly changeable, preferring Innovation and Hope before experience and Safety? Did not this overthrow the *Athenians*, though Proud and Subtle! Did they not Obey and Enjoy for almoſt five hundred years a Free Monarchy? Did they not afterwards impaire their Goverment and Happineſſe, by making their Princes, though Perpetuall, ſubject yet to Account and Cenſure? And though Feare check'd them from farther vanity for ſome hundreds of yeares, yet by new changes to Decennial *Principality*, then to *Democracy*, then to *Oligarchy*, were they not firſt deceiv'd

ceiv'd, and at laſt undone? Did not their Truſt chooſe and miſtake a *Councill* of *Fower Hundred*? whom neither Number nor Modeſty could reſtraine from *Tyranny*? Did it not afterwards miſtake *Thirty*, whoſe number indeed was leſſe, but not their Injuſtice? did they not at laſt, againſt the Judgement and Spirit of their Beſt Oratour, acknowledge the petty *Macedonian* for their Maſter, who would not endure the Renownd *Perſian* for their Lord? Nay, when as they had indifferently eſcap'd the ſubtilty of *Philip*, and the power of *Alexander*?

Let every one then be Freely ſubject, be wiſely ſubject to that Advice of the wiſe King, Meddle not with them, that are given to Change. A change it is and a wonder, that Senſe ſhould Rule, ſhould Enforce Reaſon; That the Body ſhould rule the Head! When in all cauſes a King is next under God *Supreame* Governour, how can a people whether ſingle or united, be the Governour of That Governour? A great Councill may be the Adviſer of a Prince; but as the Statute-Law of our Prayer Binds us to Confeſſe before God, it is God that is the only Ruler of Princes. That Councill then is truly Great, that is as Great in Loyalty, as in Advice; A Councill, that writes its

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ſtory and Honour in its Loyalty; a Councill, that meddles not with them, that are given to Change. And yet there are two Changes Lawfull; whereof the one will allwayes be deſir'd, and the other Ought to be; one is a Change in a deliverance from diſtreſſe; Nature teaches This to be Lawful; Grace farther teaches, that the means muſt be Lawful. We muſt not remove Temporal Evils by Spiritual Evils, miſery by Diſloyalty; no, not Spiritual Evils by Spiritual Evils. We muſt help our ſelves not by a violence, againſt man, but by a holy violence the force of Prayer, with God. Then will he make the Chriſtian yoke perfectly Chriſtian, that is, an eaſy yoke. Gods Wiſdome and Juſtice ſo order the World, that generally People under *Paganiſme* or *Mahometaniſme* are under Tyrannies; as if the ſtate of their Bodies Imitated and Expreſs'd the ſtate of their ſouls. Indeed they are a People and only by Force: but they that are orderd by the Gentleneſſe of Grace, generally enjoy the Government of Grace and Peace. If then even Chriſtians feel grievous miſeries, they muſt in a Juſtifying of Gods Juſtice, acknowledge grievous Sins; and if miſeries without amendment, their ſins alſo to be without due amendment. Which

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moves to a ſecond change, which ought to be deſir'd, Deliverance from ſinne. And if we compare theſe deliverances, wee ſhall find the firſt to be the effect of the ſecond; the Outward of the Inward; God making the Soule the beſt Phyſitian of the Body. Againſt the Miſchiefes of Witch-craft, ſome relate, that the Toad-ſtone is of Power: but more wiſely, becauſe more naturally, they avouch, that it is excellently powerfull to drive poyſon from the Heart, as alſo to cure Firie Swellings. A ſad, yet an *Inſtructive* embleme of a State; and no leſſe ſtrange in ſtory, then in Vertue. *Cruſius* the *Suevian* Annaliſt tells of one, that by a Rivers ſide diſcover'd a prodigious heap of venomous creatures, which for the terrour of their noiſe and number, might, it ſeems, have exercis'd as well a mans Saving faith as his Hiſtorical; and that on the Third day, before which they did not diſperſe themſelves, there remain'd only a Snake on a maſſe of Slime, a dead Toad, and, neere the Place, a precious ſtone, which being brought away and cleans'd appeard afterward to be the Effect and Remedie of ranke Poyſon. A ſtrange experiment of the Divine Love; which out of a Conſultation of Venomes, could produce Health; as out of Corrupt

Manners wholſome Lawes; and by Divine Art change Viper into Reſtorative! O let us then by the Art of Miſery, the Art of Prayer, attempt the like happy, the like wiſe Wonder! Let us from Sinne, whether our own or Others, grow Holy; from the Degree of Sinne, more Holy! Let the beginning of Grace beget Peace: Let the Progreſſe of it beget Love. Let us Conjure-downe the Witchcraft of Rebellion, not by Exorciſme but Repentance. Let us more tremble at Sin, then at the Sword; nay, let us ſo feare God, that we may feare only God. So will the Lord of Hoaſts become unto us the Prince of Peace, and beſtow upon us the Peace of God: which though in its excellency it paſſes all underſtanding, yet ſhall its Comforts affect our Affections and Senſe. Which Bleſſings, O Lord, beſtow upon us, that in Unity we may bleſſe Thee, the bleſſed Trinity; to which Three Perſons and One God, be aſcrib'd the Glory of Power and Peace, World without end.

FINIS.

OF

Absaloms Ambition,

A SERMON

Preached before the PRINCE His Highnesse, at *Christ-Church* in *OXFORD*,

November 10. 1644.

By *BARTEN HOLYDAY* D. D.
Arch-deacon of *Oxford*, and one of His *Majesties Chaplaines*.

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1661.

2 SAM. 15. 4.

Abſalom *ſaid moreover, O that I were made Judge in the Land, that every Man which hath any Suit or Cauſe, might come unto mee, and I would doe him Juſtice.*

WHiles the moſt exellent Angell was content with his own excellency, he retain'd it: but when hee aim'd at Anothers excellency, he loſt his own; and thus by the ſtrange impoſition of miſtake, became a Divell, when he thought to become a God. Which unhappineſſe of the moſt happy Angell, that ſhould have been unto man an example of Terrour, is become unto him an example of imitation: and man, rather then hee will not be like an Angell in the Height of his Attempt, will be like him in the miſery of his Fall. And ſo like unto him he is in the miſery of his Fall, that this Great Sinne look'd like a defilement rather of the *Spirit*, then of the Body. He would needs in Excellency be like even unto God, by which deſire he became unlike him; and aiming to become more then Man, he became leſſe then Man; this was a ſecond *Adam* of his own making. This meer Man thought it no Robbery to be Equall to God; and made his deſire no leſſe Fond then Wicked; it being as much without poſſibility, as without Reverence. And as this *Adam* did not dye without Iſſue, no more did his Appetite; an Appetite to attain

Glory without Goodneſſe; like that of a deceiving and a deceiv'd Beauty; which fetches Complexion not from the Blood, but from the Bone. And this falſe Appetite to falſe Glory, as in former times it deſcended to a *Lamech* or a *Nimrod*, men devoted to Kill or Tame Mankind; ſo in after-times to an *Abſalom*, who was as verily the ſonne of *Adam*, as of *David*. Like *David* he Fell, but not like *David* roſe again. Like *Adam* he fell: the Tree was a Miſchiefe to them both; to the one by the Fruit: to the other by the Bough; and though *Adam's* fall was a greater Miſchiefe to Others, *Abſalom's* was probably a Greater miſchiefe to Himſelfe. Yet ſince Ruine is Inſtructive, affording as well Wiſdome, as Melancholy, wee may with ſafety and Delight view the Perſon, this Perſon, *Abſalom*; as ſingular for his Variety, as for his Crime. We may view his *Diligence*, in the promoting of his Plott, though not of Himſelfe. Much had he done, much had he ſaid; yet more he Does, and more he ſaies; He *ſaid Moreover*. We may view his Ambition, yea his Heart, which is at his Mouth, before his Words; they were uſher'd with a Sigh, *O, that I were made Judge in the Ladd.* A very fitt one in his Own Judgement, and therefore probably the

the leſſe Fit. Wee may view the *Extent* of his Ambition, which with more impudence then ſufficiency, deſires that Every man, which has any *Suit* or Cauſe, might come unto Him. This Judge would be a Judge of Judges, a *Supreame* One. We may view the *Pretence* of his Ambition; Hee would doe a Royall wonder; he would pleaſe God and Man; He would doe Juſtice. O the Devotion of Treaſon! the Juſtice of Injnſtice! that would wrong a King, by ſeeming to Right a People! This is the way of *Abſalom*, the Perſon to be view'd; whoſe Folly, by the Art of Example, may make Others wiſe. Behold *Abſalom*.

A man ſo excellent, that you may find in him all excellencies, except Soveraignty and Grace. Would you ſee the *Glory* of *Birth*? In this he did as much ſurpaſſe his Brethren, as *Saul* in ſtature ſurpaſs'd the People. Even *Solomon*, his brother, was but a younger brother, and in Birth meaner. He was indeed the Sonne of a King, but *Abſalom* was the Sonne and Nephew. *Iſrael* and *Geſhur* conſpir'd to ennoble this Conſpiratour. *Solomon's* Mother was the Wife of a King, *Abſalom's* Mother was the Wife and Daughter of a King, which doubled Blood doubled his Spirits, and made the Pulſe of his Ambition

beate High. Would you ſee the *Glory* of *Comlineſſe*? Behold this delicate Impoſture of Nature; fram'd by Nature, as it were by Art, to Deceive and Pleaſe, From the Sole of the Foot even to the crowne of the Head he was without blemiſh; he was an *Abſalom*. Had Vertue been to be pictur'd, it might have been made like *Abſalom*, who was deſtitute of that, which he was moſt like. Would you ſee the *Glory* of *Age*? He was about the Midſt and ſtrength of Mans Time. He wanted nothing to the felicity of yeares but the Date of a Coronation. Of this defect indeed in a ſound Body his mind fell ſick; which caſt him into ſome convulſions of Treaſon. He was mature for Goverment, had he not been more ready to rule others, then Himſelfe. Will you ſee the *Glory* of *Subtilty*? He was ſuch a Maſter in the Politicks, that he ſeem'd to maſter the Maſter of them, *Ahithophel*: whoſe Oracle was at His command and Cenſure. He knew *Ahithophel's* infirmity, as well as his Wiſdome; his deſire of Honour and Revenge He knew, that a reverend Counſailor might in a poſſible frailty hope to have his Wiſdome more admir'd under a Young, then under an Aged maſter. He knew *Ahithophel* had been wrong'd in his Neece *Bathſheba*; though the

loſſe

loſſe of her Good name was partly recompenced by a Greate. And thus he made him venture to repay ſinne with ſinne, Murder with Treaſon; and by a new Maſter to revenge himſelfe on an Old. Would you ſee the *Glory* of *Courage*? 'Twas *Abſalom* durſt revenge his injur'd Siſter, making blood the price of Luſt, redreſſing a Greate ſinne by a greater. 'Twas *Abſalom* durſt revenge himſelfe on Warlique *Joab*; to make him remember that he forgot him. He knew him to be a warriour, and dealt with him in a military way; he fir'd his feeld of Corne; to let him know, that he had but chang'd his flame of Love into the flame of revenge; inviting kim thus by a diſcourteſy, to doe him a Courteſy with the King. Would you ſee the *Glory* of *Hope*? He was in the Eye and Heart of the People: he was the Eye and Heart of the people; their Delight and Life. Their Love to *David* was grown old like *David*; and liking any Innovation, ſo of their owne choyce, they would by a kind Treaſon, obey his Sonne, counting it not a Loſſe, but a Change of Loialty. And ſhall we now wonder if ſuch a multitude of excellencies be attended by the Multitude? If the Glory of Birth, of Comelineſſe, of Age; if the Glory of Subtilty, of Courage, of Hope, ſo daze the

the eyes of the People, that with Civill Idolatry they miſtake and adore a Rebell for a King? And yet though they would not ſee, they might have Remembred the Faults of *Abſalom*, as well as of *David*, They might at leaſt have remembred the Vanity of his *Pillar*, which indeed he erected to his Memory; a remembrance rather of folly then of Worth. *Abſalom* having no Sonne, a monument of Nature, to preſerve his Name, thought to ſupplie it by a monument of Art, like the *Rhodian* folly of the *Coloſſus*; which though it was twelve years in Erecting, e're five times twelve was demoliſh'd in the moment of an Earthquake, in Diſpatch, Quick; in Fame, Perpetuall! *Trajans* Pillar was more happy; being after its fall rais'd again. Shall we ſay it ſeems more happy then *Trajan*? Whiles of the Memoriall of a Heathen, it is made the Pedeſtall, of a Chriſtian memoriall, the Croſſe? But *Abſalom's* Pillar has not by Induſtry wonne a more laſting memory, then the Kings dale in which it ſtood; or then the Heape of ſtones over his traiterous Carcaſſe, and that without Expence or Care. The firſt Age too, we hear, had pillars, intended Monuments of Arts and Skill; ſecur'd by their conſtitution of Bricke and Stone againſt Flood and Fire; but

but, alas, they fell like thoſe that raisd them, though not ſo ſoon. Their Cement was but fraile againſt Time and the Pickaxe. Indeed, what is Fame without Vertue, being committed to the ridiculous Eternity of Aire or Earth? to the breath of Report, or to the corruptible materialls of Books, monuments commonly but of raggs and gall. And what were *Abſaloms* Abilities, but the Occaſions and Companions of Treaſon; with which they were at a Peace of Conſent to raiſe a Warre.

Behold his *Diligence*, in his, *Preparation*; which he makes ſo viſible, that you muſt needs behold it. Behold his Chariots and his Horſes, which by the Eare command the Eye to attend them; the Wheele and Hooſe ſeeming as furious, as the Chariotier and Ambition. Behold his fifty ſlaves, though not his Subjects, running before him, occaſioning others to runne to ſee them. Hee would have the Glory of Majeſty, though he had not the Right. He roſe early: Guilt is unnaturally watchfull, as Innocency is commonly too *Secure*. He ſtood beſide the way of the Gate: He was neerer to the *Seat* of Juſtice, then to Juſtice. Hee waited on the People as they came; but it was that they might come and waite on Him. His Enquiry

ſeem'd

ſeem'd Love, being about their Cities and Cauſes. Indeed all their Cities, that is a Kingdome, was his Aime; and the Main Cauſe, which hee intended, was his Own. Hee bids them ſee, that their matters were Right; when as his Heart could rightly tell him, that his own were wrong. Hee ſlaunderd his *Sov*eraigne of Injuſtice & Sloath; as that he would not do Juſtice, no not by a Deputy. Nor does hee here reſt; his Tongue could no more reſt, then his Heart. And yet he ſpake not in Vanity, but Cunning. This Great Artiſt knew both the Rule and Uſe of ſilence, When his Revenge intended the death of his brother *Amnon*, hee ſpake neither good, nor bad to him; as if his brother had been dead allready. Yet when his Plott prompted his Tongue, he could work a Politique Miracle upon Himſelfe, and ſpeak. *S*ilence and Speech are like the Tongue, to which they belong; which by the Ancients was held Sacred to *Mercury*, with them a Deity and a Planet; good with the good and bad with the bad; and ſuch is the Tongue with a Good or a Bad Heart. Silence, that Hides a Miſchiefe, is a Miſchiefe; and *S*peech, that Promotes a Miſchiefe, is a greater Miſchiefe; and ſuch was the Silence and *S*peech of *Abſalom*: whoſe Silence was Murder, and

his

his Speech Treaſon. He mov'd the People to remove *David:* he mov'd the people to *S*ettle Himſelfe in the Throne; even in that Throne from which his Merits ſhould have expected rather Judgement, then Honour. Full was his Heart, and neither Nature nor Ambition would let it breake. *S*peak therefore he Muſt, and he Does *S*peake, that which his own ſubtilty knew to be Folly, had he not ſpoken it to the People. To theſe indeed his Treaſon, nay his Confeſſion of Treaſon, ſeem'd Reformation. Let his own mouth judge him, whiles his Deſire ſays *moreover, O, that I were made Judge in the Land.*

The Deſire of things needfull is naturall: the deſire of things pleaſant is ſometimes lawfull, moſt commonly dangerous: which latter as we muſt allwayes ſuſpect, ſo muſt we never corrupt the former. We muſt not corrupt juſt deſires by unjuſt meanes to effect our deſires. A ſigh then for that which we may not deſire, deſerves a ſigh. Yet ſuch is the ſorrow of ambition: which though it implies a love of one's ſelfe, implies as certainely a vexation of one's ſelfe: which yet a ſigh ſeemes to mitigate, though not ſatisfy; as if the deſire and the ſigh would be loſt together. But ſurely ambition is unhappily more conſtant: And though

though it be a vanity, yet in the purſure of it's object is rather ſwift then fickle. Thus *Abſalom's* tongue is as ready as his braine; & ſince he cannot conceale his treaſon, he muſt vary it. A King he would be: He ſayes, He would be a Judge. His expreſſion is like his intention, neerer to cunning then to Juſtice. To wiſh to be a King, had ſeem'd to aime at the glory of Royalty: to wiſh to be a Judge ſeem'd to aime at the vertue. This modeſt Traytour would therefore ſeeme to deſire to be rather a Deliverer, then a Lord. And yet he would have his Judicature & the whole Land have the ſame bounds; His ambition would not yet diſcover it ſelfe to be boundleſſe. Yet a King he would be: but how ſhall he be. what he would be? were he a King he ſhould command; but as yet he can but intreate, that he may command. A King he would be; but of whoſe making would he be? Not of God's making; for he had made *David*: whom though he afflicted, he lov'd; nay, therefore lov'd, becauſe he but afflicted him. Nor could he be of *David's* making: who neither could undervalue Royalty, being God's favour; Nor neglect a People, being his charge. A King then he could be made onely by the People & the Devill; whiles by the People & Treaſon; whiles againſt the

conſent

conſent of God & *David*. But have we not now ſome that would pleade for *Abſalom*? not that they would ſhew their love, but their power, to make a King. Have we not ſome, that tell us, that power is originally inherent in the people? This ſeemes indeed a profound doctrine; and ſurely it is as deepe as Hell: yet is it as poſſible, as vſefull to diſcover the danger of this darkneſſe. This doctrine excludes all Kings from originall power giving it ſo unto the people: when even as naturally they may pleade, that all power is originally in the body, not in the head. For they conceive a people, as without a King; when as Nature teaches us, that the chiefe ſtrength, the directive ſtrength, is originally in the Head; Reaſon and Senſe being thence deriv'd. Nay, what Power at all the Body has, can not be learn'd at all of the Body; it muſt be taught by the Head: which not proudly, but truly teaches us, that the members cannot be directed into a wiſe Society without the Head. Strength there may be in the Blind: but Strength requires the Eye, and ſo the Head, for Direction. The Wiſdome of the Head has a naturall Supremacy over the Members; Thus Society is not only a Number of Men, but alſo an Order. And the beſt Order is not where a member is exalted

alted into a head; this is rather monſter, then order. The true head in order of naturall birth is elder then all the members. But have we not ſome, that make man the voluntary authour of Dominion? the Law the Inſtrument, and God but the eſtabliſher of both? See the acuteneſſe of this humane wiſedome, but ſee alſo the overſight of it! If man be the authour of Government, then ſurely, Government being ſuch a height of wiſedome, muſt needs have a wiſe man for the authour of it; And which is that moſt like to be, a King or a *Subject*? A King by Goverment has an acknowledg'd: Power and Wiſdome: a Subject has thus by his *Suppos'd* Choiſe a Neceſſary Obedience. Now can a man ſuppos'd ſo wiſe, as to be able to chooſe a King, and ſo Free, as to owe *Subjection* to no man, freely make a Law againſt his own Freedome? Surely then, if man ſhall be the Author of Goverment, he muſt not be a Subject but a King; a King made by the Power of his Wiſdome, before he was made by the power of the People; ſo that hee was a King, before he was choſen to be a King; and rather Declar'd to be ſuch, then made ſuch. But theſe men intend the People for the Author, as the Law for the Inſtrument; Since then the People are a Party to the Deed,

Deed, who ſhall be Judge, if Doubt ariſe? ſhall ſuch wiſdome as is able to Chooſe a King overſee ſuch an Inconvenience, as great, as Endleſs? Or ſhall God be the Judge, whom theſe make the Eſtabliſher? Surely if God ſhall by man be admitted, to be as well the Judge, as the witneſs of the Deed, when doubt ariſes how ſhall his Judgment appeare? Shall we expect a vote from a *Sinai*-Cloud, or from an Angel, or Prophet, as formely among the *Jews*? This were not to conſult God, but to Tempt him. Unleſs then Royaltie be from a Greater Authoritie, than the People, all difference between a King and People muſt neceſſarily be as much without an End, as without a Judge. Royalty then is Internally from God, the God of Nature, deriving it to man moſt graciouſly, whiles moſt quietly, by birth. Externally, it may be attributed to the Law, which does declare the inward Right. So that, the Authority is from God, the Declaration of it is alſo from the King, whiles from the Law. For what is the Law? Is it not Graciouſly the work of a King? To deſire, and ſo to Accommodate a Law, is the Act of the People, but abſolutely to Grant a Law is the Act of a King; In which the People's Adviſe is included

ded, not to weaken Regal Right (the Grant implying Right and Love;) but to ſet forth as well the People's Duty, as their Benefit, ſweetning and Enſuring Obedience by their Conſent, as firſt by their Deſire. Vainly then doe ſome ſay, what they but ſay, that the Fountaine of Power is the People, and that in Princes it is but Derivative. True it is, it is but Derivative in reſpect of God; but in reſpect of Man, that it always is ſo, or naturally ſo at all, is no leſs ridiculous, then Untrue. That nature begun Government is Undeniable: which is moſt purely preſerv'd in Hereditary Monarchie: ſo that all other Goverment is either Unnatural, or Preternatural; and therefore to derive Government from the People to the King, is as to derive Authoritie from the Sonne to the Father, or to make the River feed the Spring. Yet doe not ſome now ſay more than *Abſalom* could either know or uſe, that Government amongſt Chriſtians is nothing but an Agreement of Politique Corporations? But can Chriſtians without ſhame, ſince not without untruth, teach thus amongſt Chriſtians? Does the doctrin of Chriſt alter the Right of Kings? This is a new ſecret of new State! but no plot for Converſion of the Great *Turke*. Does a King, becoming a Chriſtian, forfeit his Kingdome

dome to his People? or, from a Lord become a Tenant at will? Chriſt himſelfe taught other doctrine, when he ſaid, give unto *Cæſar* that which is *Cæſar's*; he did not adde, Till he become a Chriſtian. And ſurely *Conſtantine* loſt nothing by ſuch a Change, his new Chriſtian Subjects did not make their Soveraigne their Slave, by fettering him with Covenants. He was indeed God's Officer, but their Ruler. But *Abſalom's* aime is not Right; 'tis Glory; though his Humble Cunning will be at their Command, till it can command: which that he may doe, he ſpeaks his deſire, an extent of deſire; That every man, which hath any ſuite or Cauſe may come unto Him.

Was not this Conſpiratour as void of wiſdome, as he was full of ſubtilty, that would expreſs his deſire in that very forme, that would Condemne it? Deſires he not that Authoritie, which Conſcience and Allegieance taught both Him and the People, to be due only to the King? In all Cauſes and over all Perſons Supreme Government? Love, the Love of Beauty, as the old truth teaches us, is Blind, in not examining the Imperfections of it ſelfe. What *Abſolom* deſir'd, was an Excellencie beyond all the excellencies, which he had without his deſire! And as it was with-

our duty, ſo was it without modeſtie. Was it not to challenge to himſelfe as well ſo much ability, as ſo much honour? royalty ſometimes paſſes by Choiſe, but not by a ſelfe-Choiſe; Nature not allowing a Cauſe to be its own Effect. When *Moſes* had, what *Abſalom* but deſir'd, he deſir'd to be eaſ'd of a great Part of the Honour. He was the Chiefe Judge; but not the only Judge; nay, in Inferiour Judgments not at all the Immediate Judge: To attend a flie, is rather the buſineſſe of a *Domitian*, then of an Emperour. Nature, that has given the Eagle ſo excellent a Sight, has given it the wiſdome in ſome things to neglect the Uſe of it. What in Natural Knowledge is Perfection, the Knowledge of the Hyſſope, as well as of the Cedar, is in Civil Actions a Weakneſs; being to grant a Power and Retaine the Uſe of it. But This Judge would have no Deputy; Every man ſhould come unto him. He would be ſo Humble, that he would Judge the Poore: he would be ſo Able, that he would Judge the Judge. The Lay-man in point of Equitie ſhould be as ſacred to him as the Prieſt; and the Prieſt as ſacred, as the Sacrifice. Nor would he thus deſcend to the Perſon, but to the Buſineſs; to any ſuit, though but for Injury in Words: to any ſuite, thoug but for

Injury

Injury in ſome Deeds leſs then ſome Words. And as his Juſtice would thus Deſcend, ſo would his underſtanding Aſcend to the Higheſt Cauſe. He promiſes ſuch Skill and Motion in the Orbe of Government, that it ſeemes natural to him to know the *Perigee* and *Apogee* of Royalty. Does the Cauſe concerne Inheritance? His skilful diligence will both Supplie and Surpaſs the Counſailour and Survayer. Conveighance and Meaſure are within His Compaſs. Does the Cauſe concerne the loſſe of Goods? He will, without Erecting a Figur, give Judgment, and never Conſult with Heaven, or ſeem to conſult with *Hell* in the buſineſs. Does it concerne a Maime or Diſlocation? *He* will without thr Ceremonies of *Oribaſius* his tooles, ſupplie Surgerie by Compenſation. Does it concerne Life it ſelfe? *He* will make the Defence of his own, but the Remembrance of the Defence of theirs. *He* will make the Malefactour more deeply ſuffer by Infamie, than by Execution. *He* only requires the repaire of all their Petitions unto *Him*; who will comfort them no leſs with *Diſpatch*, than than with Juſtice. But muſt All come to him! why then this very Traitour is not the veriеſt traitour. His Reaſon is corrupt: it is not Loſt. Though Hell were his Tutour, yet he

hates *Anarchie*; he cannot find it There; there is a Prince of Darkneſs; and ſo there are Superiour and Inferiour Devils: which, though they are unruly, are yet under Rule. He hates *Democracy*; his humane wiſdome knows it to be Folly, to put the Sword of Authoritie into a Madman's hand. Though he was Graceleſs, he was not witleſs. He was Unnatural, but not a Natural, nor ſo unnatural. He thought it monſtrous to make the People a King: to make the Horſe, in whom there is no underſtanding, to become the Rider. He hates *Ariſtocracy*; He knows that many, though Great, yea become Great, are neerer to Ruine by Emulation, than to ſafety by Counſaile: Frailty being more common to man than Virtue: ſo that not only his Pride but his Judgment approves Monarchie; which is the beſt Government and the Higheſt. Indeed, has it not Precedency by Divine Right, whiles it does imitate Divine perfection? Regal power being in Virtue, not only as much, but more than Many? Many ſtarres making but a Night, whereas one Sun makes a Day. But *Abſalom*, that does juſtly preferre Monarchy, does unjuſtly deſire to preferre Himſelfe to it. Yet to Attaine it he uſes Eloquence and pretends to uſe Juſtice. If they will be favourable to Him, He will be favou-

favourable to Them; he says indeed he will be Just to them. But he invites them to give him the Power (which is not in their Power) and He undertakes to perfect it into the Performance of doing Right. They have the Word of a Reformer for it, & I will do him Justice.

And I will doe him Justice? Hope and Silliness are as Commodious for a Conspiratour to worke upon, as Malice and Zeale. But the Union of them is the most desperate Preparative to Division. Can Greatness want Attendants? Can Justice then the Greatness of Greatness, though but in Promise, want Attendents? Will they not press-in like Hopes and Injuries? Justice makes a King in Virtue like God; it makes a Subject in Happiness like a King. It makes a man mistake himselfe to be out of the world, before he is out of it. It makes him differ from the Angels rather in Place, than in Condition: bestowing on him whiles on Earth, a Portion of Heaven, content and Safety. Justice is sweeter then Revenge; delighting Nature without Ruder passion, It makes humane Felicity like Justice, Unchangeable; and, though it Prevents not Complaint, it satisfies it. Justice is the Cure of Slander; helping the Infamie of the Innocent, by the Infamie of the Guilty. It is the Cure of Oppression; whiles it makes the Op-

preſſed, if not by Reſtitution, yet by Compariſon in better ſtate than the Oppreſſour; depriving him of his wealth, the Joy of his Oppreſſion. It is the Cure of Murder, making the ſlaine Live in the Fame of his Innocency, and the Content of his Freinds, whiles they ſee the Murderer not ſo happy, as to be forgotten. But will *Abſalom* doe Juſtice? why then he will Rule according to Law: hee will by Law rule Others, if not Himſelfe. He will then neither Cunningly Pretend a Law, nor Dangerouſly Change a Law. He is ſo Subtile if not ſo Honeſt, as Equally to diſclaime Forgery and Innovation. Where there is no Law, there is no Sinne, which is a breach of Law. They ſhall have the Law therefore as much in their Eie, as in their Heart: and ſo to take off the Envie from himſelfe, be ſooner condem'd, if Guilty, by Conſcience, than by him. And though by his Rebellion he might ſeeme to diſhonour his Father, he does pretend to honour his Forefathers, whiles he pretends to honour their Laws. It ſeemes, he thought the Preſervation of Old Laws, to be of more moment, than the making of New; and the Preſervation of Laws to be of more moment than the making of them. Indeed, is it not Folly, that Innovation in Religion ſhould be counted

counted folly, but Innovation in State ſhould be counted Wiſdome! as if Humane Wiſdome and Divine were rather Contrary then Subordinate! *Zaleucus* the wiſeſt *Locrian* made it by Law the hazard of Life, to Propoſe a New Law, if it prov'd not as well to be approv'd as propos'd; whereby they knew but one New Law in Two Hundered yeares. 'Twas certainly an argument of as much wiſdome as Conſtancy! And as the Natural Body, ſo the Politique, laſts longeſt, that is Leaſt Temper'd with. To honour ones Parents; has a Promiſe of Long Life: to honour our Forefathers in Honouring their Laws, cannot want the bleſſing of Continuance to a Nation; Heaven more delighting to be bountifull to many, than to Few, where the Divine wiſdome does not ſpecially reſtraine: God's Jealouſy delighting in Glory, which being the Luſtre of his Goodneſs, is in it ſelfe as boundleſs as his Goodneſs. Since the beginning of the World the Divine Wiſdome never made but one Eminent Change in the Church; the Ateration of the *Jewiſh* Service into the Chriſtian: the *Moſaical* Worſhip not Abrogating, but Perfecting and Enlarging the Patriarchal. And for the Chriſtian Service, it has not ſo properly ſuffered an Innovation, as a Renovation; rather a Purifi-

Purification, than a Change: having the ſame Primitive Metral, though Refin'd. Since then the Divine Wiſdome makes ſo rare a Change in ſo Vaſt a Time, Humane Wiſdome may well feare in a farre leſs time to make Any at all. Yet if New Laws are to be made, ſtory and Uſe might preſent to our Conſideration, if not to our Choiſe, ſome Acts the Monuments of Ancient Law. Such was that *Lycian* Law, whereby in their Great Council Votes were differenced according to the difference of men's Intereſts in the State. So that a Perſon, a Towne, a City, a County, and conſequently an Order of Men, were not only not forgotten, but proportiond. By which Happineſs of Equity, every one was a Able and wary to preſerve Freedome, that *Optimacy* could not creep in under the device of Cloſe-Conveighance, audaciouſly to enthraule a Government and People. Such was that *Theban* Law, which excluded Artificers, and Merchants as unprepared for Government, unleſs for Ten years ſpace they had left their trade; thinking them elſe fitter for Bargaine than for Counſaile, and ſo below the right Splendour and Experience of State. Such was the *Cretian* Law, which forbid all Young men to Cenſure the Laws of their Country; as the buſineſs not of their Search, but

but of their Reverence, and thought them to be excluded as much by their Age, as by the Law. But *Abſalom* will not abrogate eſtabliſh'd Law, though he Violate it. Juſtice he will Doe: but will he doe it in his own Perſon? It ſeemes not then either Novelty or Injuſtice for a King where he excludes not himſelfe, to be as well the Judge, as the King, of his People; a Superiour Agent being Eas'd, not ſuſpended, by an Inferiour; no more than the Divine Preſence is excluded from a Place, by the Inferiour Preſence and Imployment of an Angel. *Moſes* did not Looſe his Authority to his Aſſiſtants; but Imparted it. The Sunne gives Light, though he enables the Moone to Give Light, and ſometimes appears with it in the ſame Hemiſphere, the Moone-light being not Exſtinguiſhed, though Exceeded. *Solomon*, when he gave Judgment about the doubtful Child, did neither what was Unjuſt, nor unjuſtly; and ſhow'd as True Wiſdome, though not as Rare in being the Judge, as in the Manner of the Judgment. When *Jehoſaphat* ſet Judges in the Cities of *Judah*, his Right was not Diminiſh'd, but Diffus'd; and if we look back upon the Kings of our Land, we may, by the eaſie proſpective of an Antiquarie, ſee them often ſitting on the Throne of Judgment. Indeed, though not in reſpect

respect of the Kind of the Pleas, yet in respect of Judicature, we may without Injury or Impropriety, say that every Seat of Justice is the *King's Bench.* When therfore a King does by a Law strengthen the Sentence of a Judge, does he disclaime his Power, or rather Proclame his Integrity? Whiles he binds himselfe to Judge according to Law, does he bind himselfe from Judging? Has not Nature made a *Father* the *Judge* of his Familie? If then sometimes he makes a *Sonne* a Judge between troublesome Brethren, does he thereby make himselfe not the Judge of the Familie? A Deputation is rather a Proofe of superiour Right, than a Destruction. And therefore they observe not their own oversight, that in effect would have us observe, Royalty and Judicature to be Inconsistent, as if Contrary, when as sometimes, as in a King, they are not so much as Subordinate. Is not God, that is the King of the World? the Judge of the World? And is not a King of Humane Judges the Supreme Judge? But will *Absalom* doe them Justice? What needs Hee doe it? Will not *David* do it? Or, is *David's* blood become not Royal, because *Uriah's* was Innocent? Or, does *Uriah's* bloud cry louder in the eares of *Israel*, than in the eares of the God of *Israel*? Can his blood

cry

cry louder than toHeaven ? Or is *David's* Adultery rather Aggravated, than Excus'd, by his After Marriage? Are his ſins ſo Helliſh, that his Humiliation cannot Aſcend High enough, tofetch a Pardon for them? Or ſhall the People make an *Abſalom* and themſelves His Judge, whom God has made Theirs? Or, ſhall we ſuppoſe a New Deviſe to have been an Old Deviſe, to *Separate* a *King* from his *Perſon*; and ſo, that *Abſalom* intended to take away *David*, but to Preſerve the King, by Exchange of *David* into *Abſalom*? A King indeed and his Perſon may be Diſtinguiſh'd, according to Natural and Political reſpects; but a King and his Perſon cannot be Divided. Will ye heare in this point the judgment of very traytours, who in this point may be happily juſt Judges, though they ſeeme leſs fit? Hear then the Judgment of thoſe Great Ones, that durſt take-up Armes againſt our *Second Edward*. Even They, as our Statutes teſtifie, made it treaſon in the *Spencers*, to make this diviſion. And this their juſt Condemnation of ſuch Doctrine, has ſince the beginning of Our Great Council been by Publiſh'd command approv'd by our Great Council No Treaſon then Can, though it Would, be ſo Mathematical, as to ſeparate a King from his Perſon. But yet would *Abſalom*

salom doe them Justice? Might not some *Israëlite*, that had not too unwarily voted himselfe to the folly of Treason, and that had as much Observ'd as Attended him, till his Expulsion and Persecution of his Father, and, by *Ahitophel's* shamelesse counsaile, till his abusing of his Father's Concubines, thus have argued himselfe into Safety and a Flight? Shall we from *Absalom* expect the protection of our *Goods*? who destroy'd *Joab's*, with no less Boldness, than Wrong? and with as much Ingratitude as Boldness? making a Proclamation, in Fire, of his Impudence and Revenge? Shall we from *Absalom* expect the Protection of our *Wives*, when as he has committed Incest, more in Spight than Lust, making his Father's Women the Ridle as well as the Subject, of Treason and Filthiness? which he so acted in the sight of all *Israel*, as if he would have all men believe, that it were not a worke of Darkness! Shall we from *Absalom* expect the protection of our *Lives*; when as he betray'd the life of his Brother, whose blood was the Joy, though not the Wine of the Feast? Shall we from *Absalom* expect the protection of our *Fame*, when as he reviv'd the shame of his Father, by Imitation? when with a like Malice and Cunning, he Forgot or Conceald his Father's Virtues?

Justice

Justice he may Pretend, Intend it he cannot: nay, when he Pretended Best, he intended Worst. When he pretended a sheep-shearing? twas not a Fleece, but a Life he intended; when he pretended a salutation of the Lip, he Intended but Flattery, the Treachery of the Lip; when he pretended a Sacrifice at *Hebron*, he Intended to offer-up a King and a Father. Though then he pretend never so great, so many, so subtle Followers, they rather Discover his Conspiracy, than Disguise it. Might not some *Israelite* thus have made his Meditation his Safety? and, by Arming himselfe with Loyaltie, sav'd himselfe, though not from the Danger, yet from the Guilt of an Armie of Rebels?

But will you see the Way and End of this *Absalom* and his Multitude, which he scornes to Follow; which he Leads to Evil. *See* his first Succes, his succes in Counsalle; slighting *Ahithophel*, he does not only Loose him, but Want him: nor does *Ahithophel* only loose *Absalom*, but himselfe. He looses at once his Wisdome and his Life: and he, that in his life would not be Order'd by the Law, was not order'd by it in his Death: in which, by the worst Curse of Death, he was both the Malefactour and the Executioner. *See* his next succes, his succes in his March: in which

which, by Delay, he was not ſo wicked, as he would have been. His Father, though heavie with Greif, yet made light by Feare, did in his flight get reſpite of Diſtance, and by diſtance, Counſaile, and by Counſaile Courage: by which, Collecting his Army, as well as his Mind, he Prepares for flight, being not more dejected at his Aſcent of Mount *Olivet*, than he was rais'd in Spirit by the field of *Ephraim*. There he was a Penitent, heere a Warriour; and ſo ready to fight, that they would not Let him fight. They only borrow his Spirit, Letting his Body reſt. See then *Abſolom's* laſt ſucceſs, his ſucceſs in Battel. Having rather Perſecuted his Father, than Followed him, he overtakes two enimies, *David's* Innocency and God's Juſtice: That overthrew his Conſcience: This his Armie. He joynes Battel, an unnatural Union, though in Blood! A Son with a Father! Sinne with Sanctity! So fought the Devil with Saint *Michael*, who prov'd as much the Superiour in Power, as in Habitation. *Abſalom's* multitude became quickly not a multitude; not that they grew much wiſer, but Fewer; an Armie of their Armie, many thouſands being ſlaine. *Joab* and Victory followed the Chaſe; Blood and Noiſe Overfill'd the Country! The Coward Tray-

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ror is met with though in a Wood: no darkneſſe but Hell could be able to hide him: but this ſhelter diſcover'd him, though it cover'd him. He thinks to Flie from Juſtice, and Provokes it. Juſtice is where God is: and *Abſolom* finds it in a Tree, between whoſe boughs his beaſt leaves him embraced and hang'd by his reſtleſſe head, which was now ſtayd; When the News firſt, and then the News-bearer brought *Joab* to the ſight. The Conſpiracy was already wounded in the People: but now he has Opportunity to ſtrike it to the Heart. Into the Midſt of him then he ſtrikes three darts. Does not the Divine Juſtice puniſh in Number and Meaſure? Doe they not pierce as deep, as his Conſcience ſhould have done? Was there not One for *Amnon*? One for *David*? One for the violated Women? A judgement for Murder! a judgement for Treaſon! and a judgement for Luſt? For feare of reviving he is left to the Souldiers, to whom it is Life, to take away a Rebell's Life: and not for honour, but ſurety, they not only kill him, but bury him. Into a great pit they caſt him, as neere Hell, as they could, and over his carcaſſe threw a very great Heap of ſtones, the Remembrance and Merit of a very Diſobedient Sonne. The trumpet ſounds a retreat

from the Labour of ſlaughter: and all returne to the joy of Victory or Pardon. Only good *David* mournes in the midſt of good Newes. He ſhews as much ſorrow for the death of *Abſalom* as *Abſalom* ſhould have ſhowd for his ſinne.

And thus we may ſee, that the felicity of the moſt Holy, of the moſt Courageous, of the moſt belov'd of Kings, the *David* of Kings, is either not perpetuall, or not certainly perpetuall. He that at his Annointing had all *Iſraël* for his Attendants, did he not now flie with a few? was he not as wretched as *Adam*, who was driven out of Paradiſe? Did not *David* flie out of *Zion* the Joy of the whole earth? was he not more wretched then *Adam*? Hee indeed had a *S*word ſet againſt him, to keep him out: but *David* was driven out, and the ſword followed him! He that before had expreſs'd his paſſion in the melodie of the voyce, does he not now expreſſe it in the waters of the eye? Did not thoſe feet now chooſe nakedneſſe and paine, that once danced cheerfully before the Arke and the Lord? He that once ſlew his terrible enemies, the Gyant and the Lyon, was he now afraid of what he Lov'd, his *Abſalom*? And thus may we not ſee, that the graces of an *Abſalom* may be conſiſtent with the

the want of Grace? That the Excellency of a Rebell is but Ambition and Pretence? That his beſt offering, which looks like Divine worſhip is but the Idolatry of himſelfe? That Ambition uſes Flattery and Hates it; not for the Guilt of it, but the dejection: it being like Humility, though not it! Ambition indeed is like a Builder, who in Laying his foundation is faine to ſtoope, though afterwards he riſes by the *Scaffold* and the Ladder. And thus may wee not alſo ſee the *Inconſtancy* of a Multitude preferring Change before Peace, a New Goverment before a Good? May we not ſee the *Ingratitude* of a Multitude, ſhewing their Memory to be as bad as their Underſtanding; yet indeed ſerving *David* but as they ſerv'd God, Letting his Benefits ſlippe out of their Mind? May we not ſee the *Outrage* of a Multitude; which does Few things that are Good, but Nothing Well: which does Nothing Wiſely, and ſome things Madly? Yet even thus Ungodly was the people, that calld themſelves Gods people. Now *Iſraël* became the Heathen raging againſt the Lord, and againſt his Annointed. They now forgot God, whiles the King; whiles they forgot God concerning the King; who ſaid, *Touch not mine Annointed:* ſo that whom the Oile has touchd

the people may not touch. They neglected Gods command concerning *David*, as *Joab* chose to neglect *Davids* command concerning *Absalom:* and were as fierce to kill a King, as *Joab* was to kill a Rebell. Such was the inconstancy, the ingratitude, the outrage of old *Israel:* as if they would be prophets, whiles they persecute a prophet! They would commit a typicall treason, & seeme to performe God's will, whiles they violate it, by serving *David* as their posterity should our Saviour, changing *Hosanna* into crucify him, crucify him. But O let not our *Israel* become *Jewish!* Let it not be a murmuring *Israel.* We are not in a wilderness, vnless we make ourselves the beasts. we are in a holy Land if we will not prophane it: in a Land, that naturally hath more honey, then gall; in a Land that hath no *Aloës* but by commerce. Our hemlocke, as some hold is not mortall; O let not then our passion, be worse than our weed! If any roote shall be pull'd up, let the first be the Roote of bitternesse. If any branch is to be cast away, let it never be the Rod, the branch of *Aaron*: which deserv'd double honour, both for the Fruitfulnesse, and for the Wonder! Let not our *Israël* become worse then Jewish; let it not become Heathenish, nay worse then Heathenith. *Pilate* though a hea-

Heathen, ſeem'd to have been willing to be Chriſts friend, but that he feard he ſhould not then be counted *Cæſars* friend. But here we cannot feare ſuch a diviſion: nay, here we cannot admit ſuch a Diviſion. We cannot be *Cæſars* friends, if we be not Chriſts: we cannot be Chriſts friends, if we be not *Cæſars*. Since then our God has bleſt our *Iſraël* with a *David*, a *David* not for his faults but for his Vertues and his Troubles; ſince he has bleſs'd us from an *Abſalom* though not from an *Ahithophel*; ſince he has bleſt us with the moſt gracious Sonne of a moſt Gracious Father, a father as much by Judgement as Vertue above vanity; ſince he has bleſs'd our Land with a People famous even in the Midſt of our miſeries, for Number and Courage; let us adde Wiſdome, and by Wiſdome Obedience, and by Obedience Peace, and by Peace Juſtice; Juſtice not from an *Abſalom*, or an *Ahithophel*, but from our *David*, and ſo from our God, by whom *David* raignes. To which God of Peace and Lord of Hoaſts, Three Perſons and One God, be for ever aſcrib'd Victory and Mercy.

THE END.

Emendations.

PAge 14. *line* 17. *for* or, *read* of. l.20, f. of r. or. p.22. l.4. f. call, r. calls. p.30. l.23. f. o it, r. ſo it. p.32. l.4. f. deſigne, r. bleſſing. p.42. l.12. f. carnal, r. caſuall. p.43. l.27. r. Queen *Alexandra*. p. 46. l.12. r. uproare. p.61. l. 17. r. Rebellion l. 19. r. Witch-craft. p.62. l.23. f. Honour r. Humour. p. 63. l.15. *dele*, not. p.65. l.14. r. moderate. p. 66. l. 29. r. is not. p.67. l.11. r. ſatisfie. p.68. l. 9. r. uſes. p.72. l.24. r. Phlegmatique. p. 74. l. 3. r. Secreſy. l. 12. r. And doe not. p.77. l.7. r. leaving. p.98. l.4. f. Bone, r. Boxe. p. 108. l. 14. r. an acknowledg'd power. p.113. l.26. r. then with. *p.*114. l.14. r. becauſe. l.24. r. Alteration. p.118. l.16. was ſo able. p. 119. l.10. r. more then. p.122. l.25. f. of the, r. of his.